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HUBERT AND JOHN VAN EYCK

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HUBERT AND JOHN
VAN EYCK
THEIR LIFE AND WORK

BY ^{William}W. ^{Henry}H. JAMES ⁽¹⁾WEALE

WITH 41 PHOTOGRAVURE PLATES & 99 OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS, MANY REPRODUCED FOR THE FIRST TIME

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TO MY NIECES
EMILY, JANE, ANNE AND ELEANOR
TO WHOSE AFFECTIONATE KINDNESS
THE COMPLETION OF THIS BOOK
IS DUE



FOREWORD

IT was not until the publication, in 1849, of the first volume of Laborde's work, "*Les Ducs de Bourgogne*," that the biography of the Van Eycks began to be elucidated. The documents printed in that work were collated with the originals by Pinchart, who gave more correct readings, and also published the entries of payments to John van Eyck in 1422-1425, which he discovered in the household accounts of John of Bavaria at the Hague. Since then the present writer has not only published some important documents (3, 18, 19, 23, 25, 26, 29, 31), but has, in the present work, brought together and printed in chronological order all those documents yet discovered. Unfortunately many documents which would no doubt have given us valuable information are still missing. Of the accounts of the Receivers-general of the Duke of Burgundy's finances, those for the years 1427, 1429, 1430, and 1438 are wanting. Of the seventeen yearly accounts of the Receivers of Flanders, embracing the period during which John van Eyck was in the Duke's service, only four, those of the years 1425, 1427, 1432, and 1441, have come down to us. Of the detailed accounts and

receipts in John's handwriting, not a single one has been preserved. The originals of the Duke's letters-patent of May, 1426, and of those raising John's salary, are also lost; and the accounts of the sale of life annuities and of the yearly payments of these, which would have given us the family name and the date of decease of John's wife, are also wanting. It is probable that some further items of information may yet be gleaned from the municipal accounts of towns in the Duke's dominions, and, perhaps, also from documents in the archives of Spain and Portugal. Manuscripts, such as the interesting description of the Ghent polyptych discovered by Dr. Voll, may yet come to light. One such, probably lying unrecognised in some library, the "*Leecken Philosophie*" of Mark van Vaernewyck, is known to contain, in the twentieth book, all that the author had been able to gather concerning the Van Eycks. A careful examination of printed books, especially of chronicles and books of travel, may also add to our knowledge.

In 1900, the writer began to collect materials for a chronological bibliography of printed books and pamphlets relating to the Van Eycks and other early Netherlandish painters, a tedious work, nearly completed when a great number of the collected titles were accidentally lost. The undertaking was then abandoned, and not resumed until 1905, when the present work was commenced. Every document has been collated, and all the bibliographical references verified. The author has spared no pains in his endeavour to secure accuracy; he has, however, not found it possible to again go through the catalogues of the British Museum

and National Art Libraries, but he doubts the omission of any important work. Should any such omission be remarked, he will feel greatly obliged by his attention being called to it. He particularly wishes those who may consult this work to remember that it has no pretensions to literary merit, the author's aim being simply to provide those who in the future may attempt to write the history of the school of painting that flourished in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century, with as complete a guide as possible to all that has been published concerning its founders up to the present date. Should the author be spared, and the value of this work be recognised, he may yet issue similar volumes on Peter Christus, Hugh Van der Goes and Roger De la Pasture, in view of which he has collected a quantity of material.

It now only remains for the author to express his grateful thanks to all those who have aided his endeavours to make this work as complete and as accurate as possible; first, and before all, to Mr. Albert Van de Put of the National Art Library, who by drawing his attention to various publications, old and new, that might otherwise have escaped his notice, by clearing up difficulties presented by Spanish and Portuguese documents and by the revision of printers' proofs has rendered him invaluable assistance. Also to Mr. Jules Finot, Archivist of the Department of the North of France, at Lille, to Mr. Poncelet, Keeper of the State Archives at Mons, Mr. Victor Van der Haeghen, Archivist of the Town of Ghent, Mr. Maurice Houtart of Tournay, and Mr. Paul Bergmans, of the University Library of Ghent, for the communication of documents; and to that acute critic, Mr.

George Hulin who, during the last few years, has done much towards clearing up the history of painting in the Low Countries. The writer's thanks are also due to Mr. E. Enlart, director of the Trocadero Museum of Sculpture, Mr. L. Cloquet, Mr. W. R. Lethaby, and Mr. Tavenor Perry for communications regarding architectural features in Eyckian pictures ; to Lord Dillon, for information as to peculiarities of armour in the same ; to Mr. H. A. Grueber, of the British Museum, for information as to the value of the different coins mentioned in the accounts of payments to John van Eyck ; to Mr. A. Somof, Director, and Mr. James von Schmidt, Keeper of the Hermitage Gallery at Saint-Petersburg, Mr. Rudolf Schrey, of the Städel Institute, Frankfort, and Dr. Theodore Schreiber, Director of the Leipzig Museum, for photographs of paintings and drawings in those collections, and information relating thereto ; to the Royal Society of Literature and Mr. Alfred Marks for the loan of half-tone blocks and drawings ; to the Berlin Photographic Company, for leave to reproduce their photographs ; to Mr. Lionel Cust, Dr. Six, Dr. Karl Westendorp, and Mr. A. Daled, for photographs ; and to Mr. Sidney J. Churchill for information as to a copy of the Ince Hall Madonna ; and to Mr. Eric Maclagan for facsimiles of inscriptions and notes of details in paintings. The writer begs all those gentlemen and any others whom he may have overlooked to accept his very best thanks.

CLAPHAM,

23rd October, 1907.

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CHRONOLOGY



CHRONOLOGY

1417, May 31. Death of William of Bavaria, Count of Holland.

1422, July 8. Death, at Ghent, of Michelle of France, first wife of Philip, Duke of Burgundy.

October 24,—1424, September 11. John van Eyck working for John of Bavaria, Count of Holland, in the palace at the Hague.

1424, November 30. Marriage of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and Bonne of Artois, daughter of Philip, Count of Eu and Nevers.

1425, January 5. Death of John of Bavaria.

May 19. John van Eyck at Bruges. Duke Philip appoints him his painter, with a yearly salary of 100*l.* parisis, payable in two moieties, commencing from Midsummer.

Before August 2. Moves to Lille, and takes up his residence there.

Hubert van Eyck makes two sketches for a picture for the magistrates of Ghent.

September 17. Death of Bonne of Artois, second wife of Duke Philip.

1426, March. Hubert engaged at Ghent, painting an altar-piece and polychroming a statue of Saint Anthony for Robert Poortier.

Before July 14. John van Eyck goes on a pilgrimage for the Duke.

August. John van Eyck is sent on a secret mission by the Duke.

September 18. Hubert van Eyck dies at Ghent.

October 27. John van Eyck, having returned from mission, is paid 360*l.* of 40 groats Flemish in settlement.

1427, October 18. John van Eyck at Tournay—second secret mission—is presented with the wine of honour. The Duke's ambassadors are presented with wine on the 20th.

1428 February. John returned from second mission. Complains to the Duke that his receiver at Lille had refused to pay him his salary.

October 19. Starts from Sluus on third mission, by sea to Portugal.

October 20. Puts in at Sandwich.

Puts in at Plymouth.

October 25. Puts in at Falmouth.

December 2. Sails from Falmouth.

December 11. Puts in at Bayona.

December 14. Sails from Bayona.

December 16. Calls at Cascaës.

December 18. Arrives at Lisbon.

1429, January. Sojourn at Arrayollos.

January 12. Leaves Arrayollos and arrives at Aviz.

The ambassadors are received by the King of Portugal and the Royal Family on the morrow. John van Eyck paints the portrait of the Princess Isabella, and sends it to the Duke of Burgundy.

February. Goes on a pilgrimage to Saint James of Compostella in Galicia. Visits John II., King of Castile, the Duke of Arjona, Mahommed, King of Granada, etc.

May. Returns to Lisbon.

June 4. Journey to Cintra to see the King; sojourn in that town.

July 23. Contract of marriage of the Duke and Isabella signed at Lisbon.

July 24—October 8. Sojourn at Lisbon.

September 30. The King of Portugal conducts his daughter to her ship.

October 8. The Portuguese fleet sets sail.

October 13. Puts in at Cascaës.

November 29. Puts in at Plymouth.

December 25. Arrives at Sluus.

1430, January 7. Marriage of the Duke and Isabella at Sluus.

John van Eyck goes to Hesdin and returns to Bruges.

1431, December. Draws the portrait of B. Nicholas Albergati.

1432, January. Paints the portrait of the same cardinal, now at Vienna.

 Buys a house at Bruges.

 May 6. Polyptych of the Adoration of the Lamb terminated and placed in the church of Saint John—now Saint Bavo—at Ghent.

 Before August 13. The burgomaster and some other members of the town-council of Bruges visit John van Eyck, to view paintings.

 October 10. Paints portrait of a man, 'Léal souvenir,' now in the National Gallery.

1433, before February 19. The Duke visits John's studio.

 John paints Our Lady and Child, now at Ince Hall.

 October 21. Paints the portrait of a man with a red headkerchief, now in the National Gallery.

1434. Birth of his first child. The Duke is godfather.

 Paints the portrait of John Arnolfini and wife, now in the National Gallery.

1434-1435. John's salary raised from 100*l.* paris is payable in two half-yearly moieties, to 360*l.* of 40 groats Flemish (4320*l.* paris), payable quarterly.

1435, March 12. The Duke reprimands the accountants at Lille for raising difficulties as to verification of his letters patent, and bids them execute his orders punctually.

 John van Eyck polychromes six statues in the front of the Town-house at Bruges.

1436. Paints an altar-piece for George Van der Paele, Canon of Saint Donatian, at Bruges, now in the Town Museum.

 Paints the portrait of John De Leeuw, now in the Imperial Gallery, Vienna.

 Goes on a secret mission by order of the Duke, for which he is paid 360*l.* gr.

 October. Jacqueline of Bavaria, Countess of Holland, dies at Teylingen.

1437. John van Eyck paints the picture of Saint Barbara, now in the Museum at Antwerp.

1439. Paints the picture of Our Lady and Child by a fountain, now in the Museum at Antwerp.

June 17. Paints the portrait of Margaret his wife, now in the Town Museum, Bruges.

1441. Paints an altar-piece for the Provost of Saint Martin's at Ypres.

July 9. Death of John van Eyck.

1450. Livina, daughter of John van Eyck, enters the convent of Saint Agnes at Maaseyck.

DOCUMENTS IN
CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

DOCUMENTS

1422-1425

1. PAYMENTS to master John van Eyck, painter in the service of John of Bavaria, Count of Holland, for work executed at the Palace of the Hague from October 24, 1422, to September 11, 1424. John was paid at the rate of 8 lions a day; his apprentices received 2 lions a day.

“Uutgegeven ende betaelt meyster Ian den maelre, van ix weken pantgelts ende iij dagen; 'sdags, voir hem ende siinen knecht, x lewen, f. v lb. x s. gr.”

Rekeninge Vitzdoms in Beyeren van miins genadigs heren heren goeden ende forfeyten in den lande van Hollant ende van Zeelant von 27 Septembre, 1422, tot 14 Ianuarii, 1423.

“Item so ontbreke Iohannes schildere van sinen pantgelt van enen halve iaere, daer hem die tresorier off betaelt rekt van j quaert iaers, te weten, van Alreheylic dag toe totten eersten dage van Februarii siin xij weke, des heeft hij 'sdags voir hem ende sinen knecht die met hem werct, x lewen; ende een ander knecht ij lewen, f. 'sdags ij s.; f. ix lb. ij s. gr.”

Rekeninge Vitzdoms in Beyeren enz. van 1 Novembris, 1423, tot 1 Meye, 1424.

“Item noch uutgegeven ende betaelt Iohannes, miins genadichs heren scilder, geliic dat mit hem overdragen was,

van sinen pantgelde 'sdages x lewen, f. binnen xxxij weken, een lewe voir ij gro., xvij lb. xij s. iij d. gr."

Rekeninghe Vitzdoms in Beyeren enz. van 26 Meye, 1424, tot 5 Februarii, 1425. The Hague: Royal Archives.

1425

2. Payment to master Hubert van Eyck, for two sketches of a painting made by order of the magistrates of Ghent.

"Ghegheven meester Luberecht over syn moyte van ij bewerpen van eenre taeffele die hy maecte ten bevelene van scepenen, vj s. gro."

Boucke van den ontfanghe ende uutghevene die ghemaect zijn int scependom her Ians Sersanders, her Gelnoets van Lems ende harer ghezellen int iaer xiiij^c ende xxiiij, fol. 188. Ghent: Town Archives.

1425, August 2

3. Payment of 20*l.* to John van Eyck, in consideration of the trouble and expense incurred by him in moving from Bruges to Lille by order of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, who, by letters patent dated May 19, 1425, had appointed him his official painter.

"A Iohannes de Heecq, varlet de chambre et peintre de mon dict seigneur, que de nouvel icellui monseigneur a retenu en son service pour cause de l'excellent ouvrage de son mestier qu'il fait, que il lui a donné tant pour lui aidier à amaisnagier en la ville de Lille en laquelle il le fait venir demourer, que pour faire amener ses vagues de la dicte ville de Bruges en laquelle il a demeuré par aucun

temps, xx l. de xl gros. . . . Par mandement de mon dit seigneur sur ce fait, donné à Lille le second jour d'Aoust l'an M.cccc.xxv, garni de quittance du dessus dit."

Compte de la recette générale des finances du Duc de Bourgogne du 3 Octobre, 1424, au 3 Octobre, 1425, fol. cxv. Lille: Archives of the Department of the North, B 1931.

1425

4. Gratuity to the apprentices at master Hubert's. ✓

"Ghegheven in hoofscheden den kinderen te meester Ubrechts, vj gro."

Boucke van den ontfanghe ende uitghevene die ghemaect zijn int scependom her Ian Sersimoens ende Ian Wellaerts ende harer ghezellen int iaer xiiij^e vive ende twintich, fol. 288v^o. Ghent: Town Archives.

1426, March 9

5. Robert Poortier and Avezoete his wife, by their will dated March 9, 1425, give directions for their burial in the church of Saint Saviour, Ghent, in the tomb they had prepared in the chapel of Our Lady; for the completion of the altar founded by them in that chapel; and for setting up above it the statue of Saint Anthony, which statue, together with other work pertaining to the same altar, was at that date in the hands of master Hubert the painter. ✓

"Kenlic zij . . . dat up den ix^{ste} dach van Maerte . . . ende begheeren te ligghene in de kerke 's Helichs Kersts in de zuut cappelle die men heet Onser Vrouwen cappelle van der Moure, daer zij eenen saerc hebben doen legghen,

ter welker plaetsen zij willen ende begheeren dat vulcome dat men in de selve capelle doe maken eenen altaer omme up te doene den dienst ons Heeren, ende an den selven altaer te stelne 'tbelde van Sente Anthonise, welc beelde nu ter tijt rust onder meester Hubrechte den scildere met meer ander weercx dienende ten selven altare."

Register van Schepenen van Ghedeele, 1425-26, fol. 63. Two contemporary copies of this will are preserved among the documents relating to the church of Saint Saviour. Ghent: Town Archives.

1426

6. Three payments of 50*l.* each to John van Eyck, being the amount of his salary from Midsummer, 1425, to Christmas, 1426.

"A Jehan de Heick, jadiz pointre et varlet de chambre de feu monseigneur le duc Jehan de Bayvière, lequel mon dict seigneur pour l'abilité et souffissance que par la relacion de pluseurs de ses gens il avoit oy, et meismes savoit et cognoissoit estre de fait de peinture en la personne du dit Jehan de Heick, icellui Jehan, confians de sa loyauté et preudomonie, a retenu en son pointre et varlet de chambre, aux honneurs, prérogatives, franchises, libertéz, drois, prouffis et émolumens accoustuméz et qui y appartiennent. Et affin qu'il soit tenu de ouvrer pour lui de peinture toutes les fois qu'il lui plaira, lui a ordonné prenre et avoir de lui, sur sa recepte générale de Flandres, la somme de c livres parisis monnoie de Flandres à deux termes par an, moittié au Noël et l'autre moittié à la Saint Jehan, dont il veult estre le premier paiement au Noël mil cccc xxv et l'autre à

la Saint Jehan ensuivant, et ainsi d'an en an et de terme en terme, tant qu'il lui plaira. En mandant aux maistres de son hostel et autres ses officiers quelzconques, que d'icelle sa présente retenue ensamble des honneurs, prérogatives, drois, prouffis, et émolumens dessus diz, facent et laissent le dit Jehan paisiblement joir, sans empeschement ou destourbier, mandant en oultre à son dit receveur général de Flandres présent et à venir, que la dicte somme de c livres parisis par an il paye, baille et délivre chacun an au dit Jehan, son pointre et varlet de chambre, aux termes dessus déclairez, comme de tout ce que dit est puet plus à plain apparoir par lettres patentes de mon avant dit seigneur, sur ce faictes et données en sa ville de Bruges le xix^e jour de May l'an mil cccc xxv. Pour cecy, par vertu d'icelles dont vidimus est cy rendu à court, pour le terme du Noël mil cccc xxv, par sa quittance, qui sert à la partie ensuivante cy rendue à court, l livres."

"A lui pour semblable et les termes de la Saint Jehan et Noël mil cccc xxvj par sa quittance, cy rendue à court, c livres."

Compte de la recette générale de Flandres du 1 Janvier au 31 Décembre, 1425, fol. xcvi^o. Lille: Archives of the Department of the North.

1426, August 26

7. Payment to John van Eyck of 91*l.* 5*s.* of 40 groats Flemish to the pound, for a certain pilgrimage which the Duke had ordered him to perform in his name, and on account of a secret journey which he had ordered him to

make to certain distant places of which no mention is to be made.

"A Iohannes de Eick, varlet de chambre et peintre de mon dit seigneur, la somme de quatre vins onze livres, cinq solz du pris de xl gros, monnoye de Flandres la livre, laquelle du commandement et ordonnance de mon dit seigneur lui a esté païée, bailliée et délivrée comptant, tant pour faire certain pèlerinage que mon dit seigneur pour lui et en son nom lui a ordonné faire, dont autre déclaracion il n'en veult estre faicte, comme sur ce que par icelui seigneur lui povoit estre deu à cause de certain loingtain voiage secret, que semblablement il lui a ordonné faire en certains lieux que aussi ne veult aultrement déclarer. Si comme il appert par mandement de descharge de mon dit seigneur sur ce fait, donné à Leyden, le xxvj^e jour d'Aoust, l'an mil cccc xxvi, garni selon son contenu cy rendu, pour ce iiij^{xx}xj livres, v s. de xl gros."

Compte de la recette générale des finances du duc du 3 Octobre, 1425, au 3 Octobre, 1426, fol. lxxij. Lille: Archives of the Department of the North, B 1933.

1426, after September 18

√ 8. Receipt by the treasurers of the town of Ghent of 6 shillings from the heirs of Hubert van Eyck, tax on the property of the deceased.

"Ontfaen van yssuwen. Van den hoyre van Lubrecht van Heyke, vi s. gro."

Boucke van den ontfanghe die ghemaect zijn int scependom her Willems Utenhove, her Ians Van den Heyden ende harer ghezellen int iaer xiiij^e zesse ende twintich, fol. 319^o. Ghent: Town Archives.

1426, October 27

9. Payment to John van Eyck of 360*l.* of 40 groats Flemish to the pound, in settlement of amount due to him for certain distant secret journeys made by order of the Duke.

“A Iohannes de Eick, varlet de chambre et peintre de mon dit seigneur, la somme de trois cens soixante livres du pris de xl gros monnoie de Flandres la livre, laquelle mon dit seigneur lui a ordonné estre baillié comptant pour certain compte, traittié et appointment fait avec lui pour la par-paye de tout ce qu’il lui peut estre deu à cause de certains loingtains voyaiges secrez que mon dit seigneur lui a pièça ordonné faire en certains lieux dont il ne veult autre déclara-cion estre faicte si qu’il appert par lettres de mandement de descharge de mon dit seigneur sur ce faictes, données à Bruges le xxvij^e jour d’Octobre l’an mil cccc xxvj, garny de quittance du dit Iohannes, selon son contenu cy rendu, pour ce, iij^elx livres de xl gros.”

Compte de la recette générale des finances du 4 Octobre au 31 Décembre, 1426, fol. xxxix^v. Lille: Archives of the Department of the North, B 1935.

1427, July

10. Payment to John van Eyck of a gratuity of 20*l.*, in consideration of services rendered by him to the Duke.

“A Iohannes de Heecht, peintre de mon dit seigneur, que icellui seigneur luy a donné pour considération des bons et agréables services qu’il luy a faiz de son mestier et autrement, comme appert par sa quittance, xx livres.”

Compte de la recette générale des finances du 1 Janvier au 31 Décembre, 1427, fol. cxv^o. Courtray : Town Library.

1427, August

11. Payment to John van Eyck of a gratuity of 100*l.*, in recompense for services rendered by him to the Duke.

"A Jehannes Eyk, varlet de chambre et peintre de mon dit seigneur, que icellui seigneur luy a donné tant pour considéracion des bons et agréables services qu'il luy a faiz tant ou fait de son dit office comme autrement, et pour le aidier et soustenir à avoir ses néccessitéz, afin plus honno-
rablement il le puist servir, comme appert par sa quittance, c livres."

Compte de la recette générale des finances du 1 Janvier au 31 Décembre, 1427, fol. vj^{xx}xij^o. Courtray : Town Library.

1428, after March 3

12. Payment to John van Eyck of 100*l.* parisis, amount of his salary for one year to Christmas, 1427, by special order of the Duke, notwithstanding the general revocation of pensions and salaries of officers of his household.

"A Jehan de Heick, pointre et varlet de chambre de mon seigneur le duc, lequel icellui seigneur a retenu aux gaiges de c livres parisis, monnoie de Flandres, par an, pour les causes contenues tant en ses lettres sur ce faictes comme ou compte précédent. Et lesquelz gaiges mon dit seigneur, nonobstant que par certaines ses ordonnances faictes le xiiij^e de Décembre, ccccxxvj, a entre autres choses revoqué les pensions et gaiges d'aucuns ses officiers et serviteurs qu'ilz prenoient à luy, non

expriméz ès lettres de sa nouvelle ordonnance commençant icelle le premier jour de Janvier mil cccc vint et six ; toutes-voyes son entencion n'est pas que ès dictes ordonnances soit comprinse la pension que prenoit de lui son dit pointre, mais au regart de ce, veult et ordonne que les paiemens de la dicte pension d'illec en avant tant comme il lui plaira, soit entretenue. En mandant à son dit receveur que icelle pension il paie aux termes accoustuméz, qui sont, moitié à la Saint Jehan et l'autre moitié au Noël, comme il appert par ses lettres patentes sur ce faictes et données en sa ville de Bruges le iij jour de Mars mil cccc xxvij. Pour ce par vertu d'icelles lettres cy rendues avec quittance du dit Jehan de Heick, pour sa dicte pension et les termes de la Saint Jehan et Noël mil cccc xxvij, la dicte somme de c livres."

Compte de la recette générale de Flandre du 1 Janvier au 31 Décembre, 1427, fol. lxxij. Lille: Archives of the Department of the North.

1428

13. Payment to John van Eyck of 160*l.* of 40 groats Flemish to the pound, in consideration of services rendered by him to the Duke, and also in recompense for certain secret voyages made by him, and for the voyage undertaken in the company of the lord of Roubaix.

"A Iohannes de Eck, varlet de chambre et peintre de mon dit seigneur, que icellui seigneur luy a donné tant pour considération des services qu'il luy a faiz, fait journalment et espoire que encores fera ou tamps à venir ou fait de son dit office comme autrement, comme en récompensacion de certains voyaiges secrez que par l'ordonnance et pour les

affaires d'icellui seigneur il a faiz, et du voyaige qu'il fait présentement avec et en la compaignie de mon dit seigneur de Roubais dont il ne veult aucune déclaracion estre faicte; comme appert par sa quittance; sur ce viij^{xx} livres de 40 gros monnoie de Flandres la livre."

Compte de la recette générale des finances du 1 Janvier au 31 Décembre 1428, fol. ij^cxvij^o. Lille: Archives of the Department of the North, B 1938.

1428, November

14. Payment to Michael Ravary of 46*l.* 4*s.*, being the rent of a house (at Lille) in which John van Eyck, by order of the Duke, resided during two years to Midsummer, 1428.

"A Miquiel Ravary, pour le louage d'une maison en laquelle Iohannes de Eck, varlet de chambre et peintre de mon dit seigneur, a par l'ordonnance et commandement d'icellui seigneur demouré par deux années finissant au jour Saint Jehan Baptiste darnier passé, comme appert par quittance du dit Michiel et certiffication de mon dit seigneur de Croy, sur ce xlvj l. iiij s."

Compte de la recette générale des finances du 1 Janvier au 31 Décembre, 1428, fol. ij^cxxxij. Lille: Archives of the Department of the North, B 1938.

1431, March

15. Payment to Lambert van Eyck of 7*l.* 9*s.*, for having on several occasions waited on the Duke concerning certain affairs.

"A Lambert de Hech, frère de Iohannes de Hech, peintre de mon seigneur pour avoir esté à plusieurs foiz

devers mon seigneur, pour aucunes besongnes que mon seigneur vouloit faire, vij l. ix s."

Compte de la recette générale des finances du 1 Janvier au 31 Décembre, 1431, fol. liiij^{vo}. Lille: Archives of the Department of the North, B 1942.

1432

16. Payment to John van Eyck of 50*l.* parisis, being the amount of his salary for a half-year to Midsummer, 1432.

"A Jehan de Heick, peintre et varlet de chambre de mon seigneur le duc, lequel icellui seigneur a retenu aux gaiges de cent livres parisis monnoye de Flandres par an, pour les causes contenues tant en ses lettres sur ce faictes, comme ou compte du receveur (de 1424-25) à paier aux termes de Saint Jehan et Noël. Pour ce, pour le terme de Saint Jehan mil cccc xxxij par sa quittance cy rendue, *l.*"

Compte de la recette générale de Flandre du 1 Janvier au 31 Décembre, 1432, fol. iiij^{xxj}. Lille: Archives of the Department of the North.

17. Payment to John van Eyck of 19*l.*, for having, by order of the Duke, come to him at Hesdin from Bruges, and for his journey back.

"A Iohannes d'Eick, peintre, que mon seigneur a samblablement ordonné luy estre baillié et delivré comptant, pour estre venu par son commandement et ordonnance, dès sa ville de Bruges à Hesdin devers lui; auquel lieu il l'avoit mandé pour aucunes besongnes èsquelles il le vouloit employer. Pour ce et pour son retour, comme appert par sa

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quittance sur ce rendu, xix l. Par mandement sur ce de mon dit seigneur donné à La Haye en Hollande le xxix^e jour d'Octobre Mil cccc xxxij."

Compte de la recette générale des finances du 1 Janvier au 31 Décembre, 1431, fol. cxviiij^v. Lille: Archives of the Department of the North, B 1942.

18. Gratuity of 3*l.* parisis given to the apprentices of John van Eyck, when the burgomasters of Bruges and some members of the council went to see certain works.

"Ghegheven te Iohannes van Heyck 'tscilders, daer de borchmeesters ende eenighe van der wet ghinghen besien zeker weerken, den cnapen aldaer in hoofscheden, v s. gr., somme iij lib."

Rekeninghe van de tresoriers van der stede van Brugge van 2 September, 1431, tot 1 September, 1432, fol. 78. Bruges: Town Archives.

19. Payment of 30*s.* parisis by John van Eyck to the receivers of the office of the obedience of Saint Donatian at Bruges, being the amount of an annual charge on his house, due at Midsummer, 1432.

"Receptum anno xxxij in certis redditibus novi libri infra villam. In officio Sancti Nicholay. Iohannes van Eyke, xxx s."

Computacio bonorum officii obediencie Sancti Donatiani Brugensis pro anno xiiij^oxxxij facta capitulo in anno xxxij, fol. 15*v*. Bruges: Episcopal Archives.

A similar entry occurs in each of the following yearly accounts until that for 1441, after which the entry is "Relicta Iohannis de Eyke."

1433

20. Gratuity of 25s. g. given to the apprentices of John van Eyck by the Duke, when he went to see certain work executed by the said John.

"Aux varlets de Iohannes d'Eyk, peintre, pour don par mon seigneur à eulx fait quant mon dit seigneur a esté en son hostel veoir certain ouvrage fait par le dit Iohannes, xxv sols, comme appert par mandement de mon dit seigneur sur ce fait et donné au dit Brouxelles le xix^e jour de Fevrier ou dit an Mil cccc xxxij " (1433, n. st.).

Compte de la recette générale des finances du 1 Janvier au 31 Décembre, 1433, fol. viij^{xxviij}. Lille : Archives of the Department of the North, B 1948.

1434

21. Payment of 76*l.* g. to John van Eyck, which sum the Duke had agreed to give him for several days spent in attending to his and the Duchess's requirements and business.

"A Iohannes van Eyck que mon seigneur lui a donné pour composicion à lui faicte, pour plusieurs journées par lui vacquées par l'ordonnance et commandement de mon dit seigneur et de madame la duchesse pour les besongnes et affaires plus à plain contenues en sa quictance sur ce faicte, lxxvj livres. . . . Par mandement de mon seigneur sur ce fait et donné en sa ville de Lille, le dernier jour d'Avril, Mil cccc xxxiiij."

Compte de la recette générale des finances du 1 Janvier au 31 Décembre, 1434, fol. cxiiij^v. Lille : Archives of the Department of the North, B 1951.

22. Payment to John Peutin, goldsmith, of Bruges, of 96*l.* 12*s.* of 40 groats Flemish to the pound, for six silver cups weighing 12 marks, presented by the Duke to John van Eyck at the baptism of his child, held at the font by Peter de Beaufremont, lord of Charny, in the name of the Duke.

"A Jehan Peutin, orfèvre, demourant à Bruges, la somme de quatrevingt seize livres, douze solz du pris de xl gros, monnoie de Flandres, la livre, que deue luy estoit pour la vendue et delivrance de six tasses d'argent pesans ensemble douze marcs, du pris de viij livres ung sol le marc, lesquelles mon dit seigneur a de lui fait prendre et acheter pour les de par icellui seigneur donner et présenter au baptisement de l'enfant Iohannes van Eik, son paintre et varlet de chambre, lequel il a fait tenir sur fons, en son nom, par le seigneur de Charny. Pour ce, comme plus à plain peut apparoir par mandement de mon dit seigneur sur ce fait et donné en sa ville de Brouxelles, le dernier jour de Juing xxxiiij, quittance du dit Jehan Peutin, et certifficacion du dit seigneur de Charny sur les pris, achat et délivrance des dictes parties cy rendue, iiij^{xx}xvj livres, xij sols nouvelle monnoie."

Compte de la recette générale des finances du 1 Janvier au 31 Décembre, 1434, fol. ij^cxviiij^o. Lille : Archives of the Department of the North, B 1951.

1434, September 12

23. Letter relative to the payment of John van Eyck's pension, charged partly on the receipt of the tax of 2 groats on each piece of cloth at Wervick, addressed by the Receiver-General of Flanders to the officers of the Chamber of Accounts at Lille.

"Mes tres honnourez et especiaulx seigneurs, Je me recommande a vous tant comme je puis, et vous soit plaisir de savoir comment nagaires pour assigner et payer Jehan de Heict, paintre et varlet de chambre de monseigneur, de sa pencion, j'ay nagaires envoye a Wervy pour savoir l'estat de la ferme des deux groz sur chascun drap au dit Wervy, sur laquelle faut entre autres parties le dit Jehan est asseure et assigne par lettres de monseigneur, du quel lieu l'en ma rapporte que icelle ferme l'en entente applicuier avec les autres revenues du dit Wervy obst pour les deniers convertir ou paiement et acquit des charges estans sur l'avoir du dit Wervy, et pour ce mes tres honnourez et especiaulx seigneurs, que autrement nullement je ne pourrois furnir le fait du dit Jehan. J'envoie presentement pardevers vous le porteur de cestes a tout les lettres d'assignacion de mon dit seigneur touchant le dit Jehan le paintre, priant que icelles il vous plaise viseter et selon le contenu d'icelles lui laisser joir de son assignacion, car autrement je scay bien que le meisme Jehan en fera des poursuites par devers mon dit seigneur. Si vous plaise sur ce aviser et me signiffier et mander vostre bon plaisir sur ce et autrement lequel a mon pover je seray prest de accomplir comme raison est. Mes tres honnourez et especiaulx seigneurs je prie nostre seigneur Dieux qu'Il vous ait aitez en sa benoite garde et doint bonne vie et longue. Escript a Bruges le xij^e jour de Septembre M iiij^exxxiiij.

"Le vostre serviteur TASSART BRISSE,
Receveur general de Flandres."

Original. Lille: Archives of the Department of the North,
B 1283.

1435, March 12

24. Letter addressed by Philip, Duke of Burgundy, to the officers of the Chamber of Accounts at Lille. He hears they have raised difficulties to the verification and registration of his letters patent granting a life pension to his painter, John van Eyck, in consequence of which the said John is inclined to leave his service. This would very greatly displease him, as he is about to employ John on certain great works, and could not find another painter equally to his taste nor of such excellence in his art and science. Therefore he bids them, on receipt of this, to register his letters granting the pension, without further argument, delay, alteration, variation, or difficulty whatever, under pain of incurring his displeasure and wrath.

Mandement de Philippe, duc de Bourgogne.

“A nos améz et féaulz les gens de nos comptes à Lille.

“Très chiers et bien améz, nous avons entendu que faictes difficulté de vériffier certaines noz lettres de pensions à vie par nous derrainement ordonnée à notre bien amé varlet de chambre et peintre, Jehan van Eyck, par quoy il n'en peut estre païé de sa dicte pension; et le conviendra, à ceste cause, laisser nostre service, en quoy prendrions très grant desplaisir, car nous le voulons entretenir pour certains grans ouvraiges, en quoy l'entendons occuper cy après et que nous trouverions point le pareil à nostre gré ne si excellent en son art et science, et pour ce nous voulons et expressément nous mandons que, incontinent cestes veues, vous vériffiez et enterinez nos dictes lettres de pension et faictes payer le

dit Jehan van Eyck, d'icelle pension, tout selon le contenu de nos dictes lettres sans ce que plus vous en parlez, ou arguez, ne y faictes dilacion, mutacion, variacion ou difficulté quelconque, sur tant que vous doubtez désobéir et courroucier; et y faictes tant ceste fois pour toutes qu'il ne nous en conviengne plus rescripre, laquelle chose prendrions très mal en gré. Tres chiers et bien amez, le Saint Esperit vous ait en sa sainte garde. Escript en nostre ville de Dijon, le xij^e jour de Mars mil cccc xxxiiij."

Lille: Archives of the Department of the North, Parchment. B 1955.

1435

25. Payment of 30*l.* gr. to master John van Eyck, for painting and gilding six statues and the tabernacles in which they stand, adorning the front of the Town-house, and of 3*l.* 12*s.* g. for overwork on the same.

"Item es te wetene dat int iaer verleden voorwaerde ghemaect was met Iacop van Oost, Gheeraerde Mettertee ende Iacop van Cutseghem, steenhauwers, van viij steenen beilden te makene ende te stellene an scepenen huus, omme v lb. x s. grote van elken beilde van den steenen ende van hauwene ende snidene, xliij lb. gr. Item, ghegheven meester Ianne van Eick, den scildere, van vj van den voorseiden beilden met den tabernacelen te vergoudene ende te stofferene, van den sticke v lb. gro., comt xxx lb. gr. Item, den zelve ghegheven van overwerke ende in hoofscheden te verdrinkene, iij lb. xij s. gr. Item, ghegheven Willemme van Tonghere ende Ianne Van den Driessche, scilders, van den ij van den

voorseiden viij beilden metten tabernaclen te vergoudene ende te stofferene, van den sticke v lb. gro., comt x lb. gro. Item, ghegheven van den patronen van den voorseiden viij beilden te makene, xx s. gro. Item, ghegheven van den huere van zekeren zeyle die ghehanghen waren an de stellinghe bin der tydt dat men de voorseiden beilden stoffeirde, iij lb. x s. gro. Comt al iiij^{xx}xj lb."

Rekeninghe van de tresoriers van der stede van Brugge van 2 September, 1434, tot 2 September, 1435, fol. 61. Bruges : Town Archives.

1435, September 29

26. Payment of 67*l.* 15*s.* to John Peutin, goldsmith, for six silver cups weighing 9 marks 5 ounces, at 20*s.* g. the mark, equals 67*l.* 15*s.*

"A Jehan Peutin, pour vj tasses d'argent semblablement achetteés de lui, et icelles de par icellui seigneur donneés à Iohannes d'Eick, son varlet de chambre et peintre, pesant ix^m v^o à xxvs. gros le marc, valent lxvij*l.* xvs. . . . Par mandement de mon dit seigneur le duc sur ce fait et donné en sa ville d'Arras le penultime jour de Septembre l'an Mil cccc trente cinq."

Compte de la recette générale des finances du 1 Janvier au 31 Décembre, 1436, fol. iiij^{lxxiiij}v^o. Lille : Archives of the Department of the North, B 1957.

1436

27. Payment of 360*l.* to John van Eyck, for certain distant journeys to foreign parts on some secret business undertaken by order of the Duke.

"A Iohannes d'Eick, varlet de chambre et peintre de mon dit seigneur, pour aller en certains voyaiges loingtains et estranges marches où mon dit seigneur l'a envoié pour aucunes matières secrètes, dont il ne veult autre déclaracion estre faicte cy vj^e Philippus, valent vij^exx livres. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur le duc sur ce fait et donné en sa ville de Lille le vintieme jour d'Aoust Mil cccc xxxvj."

Against this entry is written, in another hand, that of the clerk of the auditors: "Seulement iij^elx livres. Super ipsum Iohannem d'Eick ad computandum dont il rend cy quittance de iij^elx livres seulement, et le surplus, montant à semblable somme de iij^elx livres royé pour deffaut de quittance."

Compte de la recette générale des finances du 1 Janvier au 31 Décembre, 1436, fol. vj^{xx}xij^v^o. B 1957.

1439

28. Payment of 6*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* to John van Eyck, in reimbursement of a like amount paid by him to an illuminator of Bruges who had illuminated a book for the Duke, in which are 272 large letters in gold and 1200 small.

"A Iohannes van Eicke, peintre de mon dit seigneur, qu'il avoit payé à ung enlumineur de Bruges, pour avoir enluminé certain livre pour mon dit seigneur où il a ij^elxxij grosses lettres d'or et xij^e petites, vj livres vj sols vj d."

Compte de la recette générale des finances du 1 Janvier au 31 Décembre, 1439, fol. xj^{xx}xvj. Lille: Archives of the Department of the North, B 1966.

1441, June 24

29. Payment of 180*l.* of 40 groats Flemish to the pound, to John van Eyck, being the amount of his salary for two quarters to Midsummer, 1441.

“A Jehan van Eyck, pointre et varlet de chambre de monseigneur, auquel icellui seigneur a donné et ordonné prendre et avoir sur ceste dicte recepte générale de Flandres la somme de *iiij^{lx}* livres du pris de *xl* gros, monnoie de Flandres, la livre, sa vie durant, à paier à quatre termes et paiemens en l'an, assavoir est Pasques, Saint Jehan, Saint Remy et Noël, soubz les condicions spéciffiées ès comptes précédens, pour ce icy pour les termes de Pasques et Saint Jehan l'an mil *cccc* quarante et ung, par ses quictances cy rendues à court *ciij^{xx}* livres du dit pris, valent *ccclx* livres.”

Compte de la recette générale de Flandres depuis le 25 Décembre, 1440, jusqu' au 31 Décembre 1441, fol. lxx. Lille: Archives of the Department of the North.

1441, July 9

30. Receipt of 13*l.* 4*s.* paris by the treasurer of the fabric of Saint Donatian's church at Bruges, for the burial fees of John van Eyck.

“Receptum pro sepultura magistri Iohannis Eyck, pictoris, *xij lb. par.*”

“Receptum ex campana magistri Iohannis Eyck, pictoris, *xxiiij s. par.*”

Computatio Iohannis Civis, canonici, de bonis fabrice ecclesie

Beati Donatiani Brugensis anni 1440, facta capitulo anno 1441, fol. 5^{vo}. and 6. Bruges: Episcopal Archives.

1441, July 22

31. Payment of 360*l.* to Margaret, widow of John van Eyck, being the amount of a gratuity granted to her by the Duke, in recognition of the good and agreeable service rendered to him by her deceased husband, and out of compassion for her and her children.

“A damoiselle Marguerite, vefve du dit feu Jehan van Eyck, paintre de mon dit seigneur, que trespasa environ la fin du mois de Juing ou dit an mil cccc quarante ung, à laquele icellui seigneur considération eue aux bons et agréables services que lui avoit fait le dit deffunct en son vivant, et pour pitié et compassion d'elle et de ses enfans demourez après le dit décès, a ottroïé de sa grace espécial qu'elle ait et prengne pour elle et ses diz enfans pour ung demy an la moitié de tele pension ou gaiges qu'avoit et prenoit de lui le dessus dit deffunct par chascun an en son vivant, lesquelz pension ou gaiges finerent au terme de la Saint Jehan mil cccc quarante ung par le trespas d'icellui deffunct, comme il appert plus à plain par les lettres patentes de mon dit seigneur sur ce faictes et données en sa ville de Brouxelles, le xxij^e jour de Juillet ou dit an mil cccc quarante ung. Pour ce icy par vertu d'icelles et quictance de la dicte vefve, cy rendues à court, pour les diz gaiges ou pension d'un demy an éscheu au Noël au dessus dit an mil cccc quarante et ung, la somme de ciiij^{xx} livres du pris de xl gros la livre, valent iij^elx livres.”

Compte de la recette générale de Flandres depuis le 25 Décembre, 1440, jusqu'au 31 Décembre, 1441, fol. lxx. Lille : Archives of the Department of the North.

1442, March 21

32. The Chapter of Saint Donatian, Bruges, at the request of Lambert van Eyck, grants permission for the body of his brother John, buried in the precincts, to be, with the bishop's licence, translated into the church and buried near the font, on condition of the foundation of an anniversary and of compliance with the rights of the fabric.

"1442, die 20 Martii, ad preces Lamberti, fratris quondam Iohannis de Eyck, solempnissimi pictoris, domini mei concesserunt quod corpus ipsius quondam Iohannis, sepultum in ecclesie ambitu, transferatur de licentia episcopi, et ponatur in ecclesia iuxta fontes, salvo iure anniversarii et fabrice."

Acta capitularia ecclesiae Sancti Donatiani, E, fol. lxxx. Bruges : Episcopal Archives.

1442

33. Receipt of 12*l.* parisis by the treasurer of the fabric of Saint Donatian, for the burial of master John van Eyck, painter, officer of the Duke.

"Receptum pro sepultura magistri Iohannis Eyck, pictoris, officarii domini ducis, xij l. par."

Computatio Gualteri Diedolf, canonici, de bonis fabrice ecclesie Sancti Donatiani Brugensis anni 1441, facta capitulo anno 1442, fol. 5. Bruges : Episcopal Archives.

34. Receipt of 48*l.* parisis by the treasurer of the fabric

of Saint Donatian, bequeathed by John van Eyck for the foundation of his anniversary.

“Receptum ex testamento Iohannis Eyck, pictoris, xlvij l. par.”

Computatio Gualteri Diedolf, presbyteri, canonici, de bonis fabrice ecclesie Sancti Donatiani Brugensis anni 1442, facta capitulo anno 1443, fol. 5. Bruges : Episcopal Archives.

35. Entry in the obituary of the church of Saint Donatian of John van Eyck's anniversary.

“9 Iulii. Aeffrem abbatis. Obitus Iohannis Eyck, pictoris, qui dedit xlvij lb. par.; inde ad pitancias xl s. quos solvit obedientia.”

Obituarium ecclesie Sancti Donatiani Brugensis. Bruges : Episcopal Archives.

1450

36. Payment of 24*l.* to Livina, daughter of the late John Van der Eecke, painter, my lord's servant, being a gift from him to enable her to enter the monastery of Maaseyck, in the land of Liége.

“A Lyevine Van der Eecke, fille de feu Jehan Van der Eecke, jadis painctre, varlet de chambre de mon dit seigneur, pour don que mon dit seigneur lui a fait pour une fois, pour Dieu et aulmosne, pour soy aidier à mettre religieuse en l'église et monastère de Mazeck ou pays de Liége, xxiiij livres . . . Par mandement donné à Bruxelles le xiiij^e Février l'an Mil iiij^exlix.”

Compte de la recette générale des finances du 1 Janvier au

31 Décembre, 1449, fol. ix^{xxvj}. Lille : Archives of the Department of the North, B2002.

c.1480

37. Description of a vestment given by John van Eyck to the convent of Saint Agnes, at Maaseyck.

“Dit syn de casufelle die in onser kercken syn . . . ende rode syden met guelden bloemen ende eyn blauwe damaste van suster Levynen vader.”

Directorium conventus sororum Sanctae Agnetis in Maaseyck. Brussels : Royal Library.

1768, April 28

38. The Chapter of the cathedral of Saint Donatian at Bruges, at the request of Mr. John Garemijn, director of the Academy of Fine Arts, grant permission to erect an epitaph and inscription to the memory of John van Eyck in the church.

“Actum in capitulo ordinario feria quinta 28 Aprilis, 1768, reverendo domino decano praesidente.

“Comparens dominus Ioannes Garemijn, director florentissimae Academiae huius civitatis, exposuit providos et zelosos eiusdem academiae gubernatores occasione anni semi-secularis ab illius erectione quam primum celebrandi, plurimum desiderare ut possent expensis per ipsos procurandis in hac ecclesia cathedrali collocare epitaphium cum inscriptione congrua, iuxta schema ad mensam capitularem exhibitum, in perennem memoriam inclyti et variorum scriptorum elogiis celebrati viri Ioannis van Eyck Brugensis, pictoris suo aevo

celeberrimi et circa annum 1440 defuncti atque in praefata ecclesia prope ultimam columnam haud procul a fonte baptismali inhumati petendo desuper dominorum de capitulo consensum et designationem loci contra parietem medium inter portam maiorem eiusdem ecclesiae et ipsum fontem baptismalem, cui petitioni domini libenter annuerunt comittentes domino canonico Schellekens, fabricario, circa erectionem praefati epitaphii agere rem officii, et concedentes praenominato domino comparenti huius resolutionis copiam consignari.

“ F. F. DE WITTE, can. secret.”

Acta capituli ecclesiae cathedralis Sancti Donatiani Brugensis.
Bruges : Episcopal Archives.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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I. MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY PRINTED BOOKS

c.1430

CONTEMPORARY narrative of the journey of the embassy sent by Philip, Duke of Burgundy, to John, King of Portugal, to which John van Eyck was attached as the Duke's painter.

"En l'an M.cccc.xxviij, tres noble, tres hault et tres puissant prince monseigneur Phelippe, duc de Bourgoingne, qui paravant avoit eu espouses successivement deux tres nobles dames et de tres hault parage, la premiere dame Michiele, jadiz fille de tres chrestien, tres excellent et tres puissant prince le roy Charles de France sixisme, la seconde dame Bonne d'Artoiz, lesquelles dames estoient trespassez, et n'en avoit mon dit seigneur le duc point de lignee, fut meu, de saint et loable propoz, et par vaillans et loyaulx prudommes advisé et conseillé de soy de rechief mettre en l'ordre de mariage, en entencion de, par la grace de Dieu, en avoir lignee qui deust succeder aux haultes et grandes seignouries qu'il avoit et tenoit. Si determina et conclud mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne de faire promouvoir et traictier le mariage de luy et de tres noble et haulte dame madame Elisabeth, infante de tres excellent et tres puissant et victorieux prince le roy Jehan de Portugal et d'Algarbe, seigneur

de Cepte; et, pour ce faire, mist sus et envoya en Portugal sa noble legacion et ambaxade, de laquelle il fist et ordonna chief et principal un sien noble chevalier et féable et privé serviteur, messire Jehan seigneur de Roubais et de Herzelles, son conseiller et premier chambellan, et, ensemble luy, ses féaulx serviteurs messire Bauduin de Lannoy, dit le Beghe, chevalier, seigneur de Moulembais, gouverneur de Lille; André de Tholonjon, escuier, seigneur de Mornay, ses conseillers aussi et chambellans, et maistre Gille d'Escournay, docteur en decrez et prevost de Harlebeque, semblablement son conseiller et maistre des requestes de son hostel; auxquels ses ambaxadeurs il donna ses instructions, lectres, procuracion et pover servans à la matiere; et, avecq ce, par Guy Guilbaut, son conseiller et gouverneur-general de ses finances, leur fist delivrer largement deniers pour faire grande et honnourable despense: pour laquelle conduire, il ordonna et envoya un gentilhomme nommé Bauduin d'Ongnies, escuier, maistre d'ostel d'icelle despense, et un clercq d'office pour en faire le paiement.

“ Les devant nommez ambaxadeurs et ceulx de leur compaignie, en grant nombre de gentilzhommes et autres, ainsi fourniz et pourvez, aprez qu'ilz avoient pris congié de mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne, se trairent en sa ville de l'Escluze en Flandres, et là, pour faire leur voiage, se mirent proporcionelment en deux galees de Venise adonc gisans ou port de l'Escluze, dont ilz partirent le xix^e jour d'Octobre ou dit an iiij^e xxviiij, et, le lendemain xx du dit mois, arriverent ou port de Sandwich en Angleterre, et au dit Sandwic descendirent, et, en attendant deux aultres galees de Venise lors estans à Londres, furent en icelluy Sandwic jusques au

xiiij^e jour de Novembre ensuivant, qu'ilz en partirent ès dites galees, et par forche de vent entrèrent depuis divers pors en Angleterre, premierement le port de la Chambre, secondement à Pleume, et tiercement à Falemne, où ilz vindrent le xxv^e du dit Novembre, et en partirent le second Decembre ensuivant, et tant navigerent par la mer d'Espagne, que, le xj^e jour du dit Decembre, ilz arriverent et descendirent à Baionne en Galice, dont ilz partirent le xiiij^e d'icelluy mois, et le xvj^e vindrent et prirent terre en ung lieu dit Calscais, à six lieues de Lisbonne en Portugal, où ilz alerent le xvij^e jour du dit Decembre.

“A ce temps estoit le roy de Portugal dessus dit en une sienne ville appellee Estremoux, à trois ou quatre journees de Lisbonne, et avec luy estoient mes seigneurs ses infans et madame l'infante devant nommee, et grant compaignie et assemblée de seigneurs, chevaliers, escuiers, dames et damoisselles, et gens de tous estas du pays, à une feste quy prochainement se y debvoit tenir de la reception de madame Elienor, infante d'Arragon, espouse de monseigneur l'infant Edouart, primogenit du dit roy de Portugal. Si envoyerent incontinent les dits ambaxadeurs Flandres, roy d'armes, devers le dit roy de Portugal, et par leurs lettres luy signifient leur venue et la cause; lequel roy d'armes fut à la dite feste, et en a fait rapport par escript à la manière qui s'ensuit :

“Quant le roy de Portugal ot receu les lettres des dits ambaxadeurs, il leur escriisy et mande par les siennes qu'ilz se tirassent devers luy; et pour tant, si tost qu'ilz peurent eulx pourveoir de chevaulx et montures, se mirent à chemin pour y aler: mais, quant ilz furent à trois ou quatre lieues

du lieu où il estoit, pour ce qu'il vouloit mander et avoir devers luy messeigneurs ses infans, qui jà s'en estoient partiz, il escripsy aus dits ambaxadeurs que leur alee devers luy retardassent jusques il le leur feroit savoir. Si attendirent en une ville nommee Reols jusques au xij^e jour de Janvier ensuivant, que le roy les manda aler devers luy.

“ Le dit xij^e jour de Janvier, se partirent yceulx ambaxadeurs du dit Reols, et le meismes jour vindrent en une ville nommee Avis, où le roy estoit, quy envoya au devant d'eux honnourablement aucuns de son sang et aultres gentilzhommes et personnes notables en grande et belle compaignie, et leur fist faire grande et joyeuse recepcion. Et mais, pour ce qu'il estoit tard, ilz ne furent point ce jour devers luy, ains par son plaisir attendirent jusques à lendemain.

“ Lendemain matin xiiij^e du dit Janvier, le dit roy, apres sa messe, manda les dits ambaxadeurs, qui alerent devers luy et luy presenterent les lettres de mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne, et firent les recommandacions et reverences deues et accoustumees, et il les receut doucement et joyeusement, et leur assigna heure de oir leur creance le dit jour apres disner.

“ A laquelle heure comparurent les dits ambaxadeurs par devant le dit roy, et à luy, estant en sa chambre de son conseil, où estoient messeigneurs Edouard, primogenit, domp Petre, domp Henry et domp Fernande, ses infans, le conte de Barcelles et aucuns autres notables, fut en Latin, par la bouche du dit maistre Gille d'Escornay, notablement ouverte et exposee en generale la cause pour quoy mon dit seigneur de Bourgoigne les avoit devers luy envoyez ; et, ce oy, leur fist dire en Latin, par ung docteur son conseiller, que de

leur venue il estoit tres joieux, et que sur ce que de par mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne luy avoit ainsi esté dit et proposé, il auroit son advis, et leur en feroit response; et, à tant, se retrairent yceulx ambaxadeurs en leur logeiz.

“ Ce mesme jour, vers le vespre, le dit roy leur manda que, pour ce qu’il avoit pluseurs occupacions, pour quoy il ne pavoit bonnement en sa personne entendre en la matiere, il la commectoit à pourparler et demener au dit monseigneur Edouard et aultres messeigneurs ses infans.

“ Par devant lesquelz, ou aucuns d’iceulx, le lendemain et aucuns autres jours ensuivans, la besoingne fut plus en particulier à diverses fois ouverte et demenee; et, en conclusion, fut du pourparlé faicte une cedulle par escript. Avec ce, les dits ambaxadeurs, par ung nommé maistre Jehan de Eyk, varlet de chambre de mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne et excellent maistre en art de peinture, firent paindre bien au vif la figure de ma dite dame l’infante Elizabeth.

“ En oultre, paravant ce temps, durant icelluy et aprez, les dits ambaxadeurs se informerent tres diligemment, en diverses lieux, par pluseurs parsonnes, de la renommee, meurs et condicions d’icelle dame: dont par aucuns notables subgetz meismes de mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne et autres privez et estrangiers amis et ennemis du royaume de Portugal, à part, en commun et par voix et renommee generale, leur fut dit tant de loenges, vertus et biens que on porroit dire de dame.

“ Et, ce fait, les dits ambaxadeurs, environ le xij^e de Febvrier ensuivant, envoyerent devers mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne quatre messaiges, deux par mer et deux par terre, c’est assavoir: par mer, Pierre de Vauldrey,

escuier, escançon de mon dit seigneur, et ung poursuivant d'armes dit Renti, et, par terre, Jehan de Baissi, escuier, et ung aultre poursuivant d'armes appelé Portejoye: par lesquelz messaiges, et par chascun d'iceulx, ils escripsirent à mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne ce qu'ilz avoient trouvé, et que jusques lors avoit esté fait touchant la matière du dit mariage. Aussi luy envoyerent ilz la figure de la dicte dame faicte par painctre, comme dit est. Et, attendant nouvelles et response de mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne, aucuns des dits ambaxadeurs, c'est assavoir le seigneur de Roubaix, messire Bauduin de Lannoy et André de Tholonjon, et de leur compaignie le dit Bauduin Dognies, Albrecht, bastard de Baiviere, Grignon Landas, Hector Sacquespee et autres gentilzhommes et familliers, se trairent à Saint Jacques en Galice, et de là alerent visiter le duc d'Arjonne, le roy de Castille, le roy de la ville de Grenade et pluseurs autres seigneurs, pays et lieux.

“ Environ la fin de May ensuivant, retournerent les dessus nommez de leur dit voiage, et arriverent si à point à Lisbonne, que adonc se y faisoit la premiere entree et joyeuse recepcion de madame Elienor, femme de l'infant Edouard, primogenit, laquelle entree et recepcion ilz virent, qui fut grande et honorable car la dite dame seoit de costé sur une mule richement ensellee et couverte de drap d'or; et, au frain de la beste, estoient et alloient tout de piet deux de messeigneurs les freres du dit infant primogenit, l'un d'une part, et l'autre d'aultre, et pareillement aux estriers ung des autres freres et ung autre de leur sang; et, pardessus la dame estoit ung grant drap d'or en maniere de ciel, soustenu de pluseurs hantes on fusts que portoient tout de pié aucuns du sang

royal et autres chevaliers et seigneurs des plus notables du royaume de Portugal: au devant de laquelle dame furent bien long aux champs mes dits seigneurs les freres, qui, si tost qu'ilz l'encontrerent, se mirent de pié, s'enclinerent et luy baisierent la main selon la coustume du pays. Aussy allerent à l'encontre à cheval grant nombre de chevaliers, escuiers, bien montez et habillez, et les bourgeois et marchans notables de la ville de Lisbonne, et avec ce les Juifs et les Sarrazyns du lieu, separeement, habillez à leur usaige, chantans et dansans selon leur guise. Et ainsi fut la dame amenee par la ville au palais de l'infant, à grant joye et solemnité, et y avoit grant quantité de trompetes, menestrelz, joueurs d'orgues, de harpes et autres instrumens, et estoit aussi la ville tendue et pree, en moult de lieux, de draps de tapisserie et autres et de ram-seaux de may.

"Au iiij^e jour du mois de Juing ensuivant, les devant dits ambaxadeurs, quy nouvellement estoient retournez du dit voiage, alerent en la ville de Cintre, à cinq lieues du dit Lisbonne, pour veoir et visiter le roy de Portugal, qui illec se tenoit en ung tres plaisant hostel qu'il y a, et les avoit mandé y venir. Et eulx estans en leur logiz, devers le vespre, le devant nommé Pierre de Voeldrey, quy par mer retournoit de devers mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne, arriva au dit Cintre devers les dits ambaxadeurs, ausquelz il apporta lettres et nouvelles de mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne. Si le allerent tantost noncier yceulx ambaxadeurs au roy et à madame l'infante sa fille, quy moult en furent joyeux, et fut grande à court la feste de la venue du dit Pierre et des joyeuses nouvelles qu'il apportoit.

"Après ce, les dits ambaxadeurs, sceu sur ce le bon plaisir

de mon dit seigneur, s'entremirent de proceder avant ou traictié du dit mariage, et tant y labourerent devers le dit roy et aucuns de messeigneurs ses infans, que icelluy traictié fut accordé et conclu au dit lieu de Cintre le xj^e jour du dit mois de Juing, dont les lectres du contraict furent passees pardevant notaire, au dit lieu de Lisbonne, le xxiiij^e jour de Juillet ensuivant M.cccc.xxix ; et, le lendemain Dimenche, xxv^e du dit mois, à l'instance requeste du dit roy et de messeigneurs ses infans, le dit seigneur de Roubais, ou nom et comme procureur de mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne et ayant de lui sur ce souffissant et especial pouvoir et procuracion, environ sept heures de matin, ou chastel du roy au dit lieu de Lisbonne, prist et receut ma dite dame l'infante Elizabeth, par parolle de present, pour compaignie et espouse de mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne, presens à ce le dit roy, messeigneurs Edouard, primogenit, domp Henry, domp Jehan, et domp Fernande, ses infans, la infante espouse du dit Edouard, et celle du dit domp Jehan, pluseurs prelas, chevaliers, escuiers, dames et damoiselles, et gens de tous estas en grant nombre.

“ Depuis lequel temps, les dits ambaxadeurs poursuivirent à toute diligence l'alee de ma dite dame ou pais de Flandres, où le roy par le dit traictié la debvoit honnourablement faire mener à ses fraiz, et la y rendre et delivrer à mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne ; le partement de laquelle dame devoit, selon la promesse du roy et de monseigneur l'infant primogenit, estre dedens la fin de Septembre ensuivant, ou cas que, par contrarieté de vent, ou mort, ou maladie du roy ou d'elle, n'en seroit empeschee.

“ Aprochant le temps du partement de ma dite dame,

monseigneur l'infant Edouard, primogenit, fist une feste, convy et soupper au roy son pere et à elle. Est assavoir : le Lundy xxvj^e du dit mois de Septembre et deux jours ensuivans, se fierent joustes et esbatemens pour la dite feste, lequel soupper se feist au dit lieu de Lisbonne, en la sale des galees que pour ce en avoit fait widier, et estoit la dite salle tendue aux costez de draps de tapisserie de pluseurs pieches, et dessus de communs draps de laine entiere de diverses couleurs, et estoient les pillers d'icelle salle, quy est double, tenduz et parez semblablement, et dessoubz estoit jonchee de joncs vers. En la dite sale olt pluseurs tables hautement drecees et bien couvertes de tres bel linge, c'est assçavoir : celle du roy ou bout et front de la sale haultement mise, et où l'en montoit à pluseurs marches et passes de bois, quy comprenoit presque tout le travers d'icelle sale, et, ou milieu de la table, en la plache du roy, estoit plus haulte de plus de demy pié que le sourplus, et par dessus ycelle plache avoit tendu ung ciel de drap d'or ; devant laquelle table, contre ung piller, estoit drecee ung echaffaud paré pour les roys d'armes et heraulx ; et, à l'autre bout, à l'entrée de la sale, en avoit ung autre semblable pour les trompettes et menestrelz. Les autres tables estoient mises en trois renges, c'est assçavoir : aux deux costez et ou milieu, tout du long de la sale. Or, il y olt six dreçoirs moult richement parez et grandement chargiez de vaisselle d'or et d'argent doré, de diverses pieches et façons, et fut la salle si bien eluminee de torches et luminaire de cire, que l'en y veoit partout tres clairement. Ung po devant l'eure du soupper, mon dit seigneur l'infant primogenit party de son palais, et ala au chastel et palais du roy le querir et mener au lieu du souppé, et aussy madame l'infante sa sœur.

Si y allerent à cheval acompaigniez de tous messeigneurs les infans, et avec y alerent mesdames femmes de l'infant primogenit, de l'infant domp Petre et de l'infant domp Jehan, les contes d'Orim et de Reols, et pluseurs seigneurs, chevaliers, escuiers, dames et damoiselles rischement parez et vestuz; aussy y allerent les dits ambaxadeurs, quy semons y estoient, et convoierent et compaignerent ma dite dame l'infante de Portugal, espouse de mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne, leur seigneur et maistre.

“Quant il fut temps de soupper, le roy se mist à table en sa plache du milieu pour luy ordonnee comme dit est, et à sa dextre fist seoir madame l'infante Elizabeth sa fille, à sa senestre mesdames la femme de l'infant domp Petre et la femme de l'infant domp Jehan; et madame la femme de l'infant primogenit, pour ce qu'elle estoit moult enceinte et proche d'agesir, ne fut point assise à table, ains fut en haulte galerie à destre bien tendue et paree, et de là regardoit la feste. Aussy fist le roy seoir au bout de sa table, à destre, le dit seigneur de Roubais, chief de l'ambaxade, et les autres ambaxadeurs searent à une autre table assez prochaine à destre, et les autres seigneurs, dames et damoiselles, ès autres tables ensuivans.

“Moult y olt qui les servy de viandes en divers mets et de vins de diverses manieres, et estoit le roy servy du dit monseigneur l'infant primogenit et de tous les autres messeigneurs ses infans.

“A ce soupper, qui longuement dura, se firent esbatemens que par delà ils appellent chalenges, qui se font en telle maniere, que chevaliers et gentilzhommes, armez de toutes leurs armes et houchiez ou parez ainsi qu'ilz veulent et

doivent joster, viennent à cheval acompaigniez comme il leur plaist, devant la table du seigneur ou dame quy tient la feste, et devant luy font porter en un baston fendu une carte ou lettre ployee, et, après qu'il a tout à cheval incliné le seigneur ou dame, luy fait presenter la dite lettre, où est contenu qu'il est un chevalier ou gentilhomme d'un nomme estrange qu'il prent tel qu'il se veult attribuer, et dit qu'il vient de moult d'estranges contrees cerchier aventures : l'un, des desers d'Inde ; l'autre, de paradiz terrestre ; l'autre, de la mer ; l'autre, de la terre ; et que, pour ce qu'il a oy dire les nouvelles de ceste haulte feste, il est venu à court, et semont aucun de leans que, s'il veult joster ou faire armes, il est prest de le recevoir. Adonck, la lettre leue et la chose conseillie, le seigneur ou dame fait dire, par un herault, à celluy homme d'armes, que attend sa response devant la table : Chevalier, ou seigneur, vous serez delivrez ; et lors, faite inclination comme devant, se part de la place armé et monté comme il est venu.

“ Ung en y olt quy vint luy et son cheval tout couvert de broches, comme de porcespy ; ung aultre quy vint acompaignie des sept planetes, chascune bien gracieusement figuree selon sa propriété ; autres pluseurs vindrent gracieusement habillez et desguisez chascun selon son plaisir.

“ A ce soupper donna mon dit seigneur l'infant primogenit grans dons et largeces aux heraulx et menestrelz quy furent portez à cheval et haultement criez et publiez par toute la sale, et y olt fort sonne de trompettes et d'autres instrumens.

“ A ce soupper aussi, fist ma dite dame l'infante Elizabeth

crier joustes à joustes par compaignie par deux jours ensuiuant, et que celluy quy mieulx feroit pour le premier jour auroit une riche coupe, et celluy qui mieulx feroit pour le second auroit un riche dyamant.

“ Ce fait, et le soupper finy, pour ce que l’eure estoit moult tard, se partyz le roy et les autres seigneurs et dames, et sans danser se retrairent en leurs hostelz.

“ Lendemain xxvij^e du dit Septembre aprez disner, vindrent les jousteurs sur les rues, en la rue Nouve à Lisbonne, quy estoit semee de grant foison de sablon, et y avoit une haye de paliz fichiez par espases pour jouter pardessus, laquelle haye estoit tendue de draps de laine bleux et vermeilz. Lesquelz jousteurs, dont aucuns estoient parez et venus chevaulx couvers richement de drap d’or, avecq ce ouvré de riche brodeure et fourré de martres, les autres aournez de drap d’argent, les autres de drap de soye, et les autres en autre maniere richement habillez, jousterent bien grandement devant le roy et les seigneurs et dames, que pour les regarder estoient aux fenestres parees en maintes maisons de la dite rue; et pareillement se fierent illec autres joustes belles et solemneles le lendemain xxviii^e jour du dit Septembre.

“ Le Jeudy xxix^e et penultime jour d’icellui mois, quy fut le jour que le roy avoit proposé de mener et faire mettre en nave, au port de Lisbonne, ma dite dame l’infante Elizabeth sa fille, pour d’illec l’envoyer en Flandres, comme dit est, il au matin la mena à cheval dès son hostel en l’église cathedrale de Lisbonne, et, en la menant sur son cheval ou haquenee, tenoit ung lax ou longe de la haquenee aussi richement ensellee et couverte; et devant eulx alloit

sur un coursier l'infant Edouard, primogenit, et après, sur chevaulx et haquenees mesdames les femmes de l'infant domp Petre et l'infant domp Jehan; et, au frain et aux estriers de la haquenee de ma dite dame l'infante, deux d'une part et deux de l'autre, estoient de pié aucuns de messeigneurs ses freres et autres de messeigneurs du sang royal; et les dits ambaxadeurs et pluseurs seigneurs, chevaliers, gentilh-hommes, dames et damoiselles et autres gens de tous estas en grant nombre, la convoierent tout de pié à la dite eglise, quy estoit aournee et paree, et où fut chantee la messe et fait le service divin grandement et solemnelement, aprez lequel le roy ramena ma dite dame sa fille en son hostel en la maniere que dit est, et avoit intention de la livrer en nave et y faire un disner: mais il fist si fort temps, et fut l'yaue tellement esmeue, que il ne se pot faire pour ce jour.

“Le lendemain dernier jour de Septembre, apres disner, quant le temps fut appaisié, le roy, acompaignié de tous messeigneurs ses infans, de mesdames la femme de l'infant domp Petre, la femme de l'infant domp Jehan, les dits ambaxadeurs et pluseurs seigneurs, chevaliers, escuiers, dames et damoiselles et autres gens en grant nombre, mena ma dite dame sa fille en la nave que pour son passaige avoit fait appareillier au port de Lisbonne, où, en attendant la disposition et apprestement des autres naves et des gens quy debvoient aller avec elle, elle demoura sans partir jusques au Samedy viij^e jour d'Octobre ensuivant, et ce pendant fut souvent et grandement visitée tant du roy son pere, comme de messeigneurs ses freres et d'autres. Le dit Samedy viij^e d'Octobre, ma dite dame, acompaignié de monseigneur l'infant domp Fernande son frere, du conte d'Orin son neveu,

de pluseurs chevaliers, escuiers, dames et damoiselles et autres de sa compaignie, ou nombre de ij^m personnes ou entour, en xiiij grandes naves bien fournies, armees et avitaillees, se party devant Lisbonne entour heure de vespres, et s'eslongna ung petit de lieu où elle avoit jeu auparavant, et le lendemain se traist ung poeu plus avant en ung lieu dit Restel, où elle fust jusques au Jeudy ensuivant xiiij^e du dit Octobre, qu'elle et sa dite compaignie vindrent devant Calscais environ heure de vespres, et là jecterent les ancrs et ung petit y arresterent : mais, tantost ce meismes jour, se leverent, et en partirent pour aller en leur voiage, et navigerent bien avant en la mer jour et nuyt jusques au Samedy xv^e du dit Octobre, que, par vent contraire leur convient retourner, et de rechief vindrent devant le dit Calscais, où ils ancrerent et furent jusques au Lundy xvij^e du dit Octobre, qu'ilz en partirent, se mirent en mer, et bien avant y singlerent. Mais, par contrarieté de vent failli encoires à ma dite dame laisser son chemin, et le Samedy, xxij^e du dit Octobre, entra ou port de Viviers en Galice, seulement à iiij voiles des xiiij qu'elle avait paravant, et du sourplus ne sceut adonc ne longtemps depuis aucunes des nouvelles, fors de une des naves, qui par iiij ou v jours après vint au dit port de Viviers. D'icelluy port se party ma dite dame le Dimenche vj^e de Novembre, et le ix^e d'icelluy mois, par fortune, luy convint entrer ou port de Ribadeu, aussi en Galice. Or avint que le dit seigneur de Roubais, que par aucuns jours avant avoit pris maladie en la nave de ma dite dame, fut si affoibly et aggrevé, qu'il lui convint descendre au dit Ribedeu, et là, du bon plaisir de ma dite dame, se mist en une de deux galees de Florence tendans en Flandres, que par fortune estoient là

arrivees, car il n'eust peu souffrir le traveil de la dite nave que verissemblablement il n'y fust mort, veu la foiblece et debilitacion de sa personne pour la dite maladie. Si entra en la dite galee au port de Ribedieu le xxv^e du dit Novembre, et avec luy le devant dit Bauduin d'Ongnies et aucun po de ses gens ; les autres de ses gens et aucuns des dits ambaxadeurs demourans en la nave devers ma dite dame. Et partirent les v naves que adonc avoit et les dites deux galees, du port de Ribedieu, le dit xxv^e jour, et ensemble navigerent par la mer d'Espagne jusques au xxvii^e d'icelluy mois, que, bien avant en la nuit, les piloz par erreur laissierent le chemin des naves, et vindrent prez du camp de Caisart à la poincte d'Angleterre, en grant aventure de naufrage et de perillier ; et ma dite dame et les naves de sa compaignie tindrent leur chemin, et, le lendemain xxix^e du dit Novembre, arriverent au port de Pleume en Angleterre. Les dites galees se partirent du lieu où elles gisoient pres du dit camp de Caisart, le premier jour de Decembre, et le vj^e d'icelluy mois arriverent au port de l'Escluze en Flandres, ou descendy le dit seigneur de Roubais, et incontinent fist sçavoir à mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne nouvelles de ma dite dame sa compaignie, dont icelluy seigneur de Roubais, en faisant son chemin, avoit bien esté acertené, c'est assçavoir : que elle estoit au dit port de Pleume saine et en bon point, et ceulx de sa compaignie. Moult fut joyeux mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne de ces nouvelles ; aussi en furent fort resjoiz ses bons vassaulx, serviteurs et subgez, qui paravant estoient en grant tristesse des parolles quy aucuns avoient semé, que ma dite dame, pour sa longue demeure et la fureur des vens et diversité du temps, avoit eu infortune en son voiage. Encoires, pour ce que, depuis que le dit seigneur

de Roubais fut arrivé, elle ne venoit si tost que on esperoit et desiroit, ne fut pas le voix du tout cassee, et en faisoient plusieurs doubte. Et pour tant, mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne, afin de avancier la venue d'icelle madame sa compaignie, fist, par le dit seigneur de Roubais freter et apprester les dites deux galees de Florence, pour icelluy seigneur de Roubais aller devers elle et mener les dites deux galees, et dedens faire venir elle et ses gens si tost que il feroit vent à ce convenable : mais, avant qu'il fist vent pour le partement des galees, ma dite dame vint au dit port de l'Escluze, et, par la grace de Dieu, y arriva saine et en bon point, et ceulx de sa compaignie, le jour de Noel environ heure de medy.

“Lendemain, feste de Saint Estienne, avant midy, descendy ma dite dame de sa nave, et à sa descendue ot mainte barge et autres petiz navieres parez de draps, et autres portans plusieurs seigneurs, escuiers et gens notables de divers estas, pour veoir, acompaignier et servir icelle dame. Grant foison y ot aussi de trompetes, menestrelz et joueurs de plusieurs instrumens de musique, et tous s'efforçoient d'en faire le mieulx qu'ilz savoient, pour la feste et joye de la venue de ma dite dame tant désirée. A sa descendue fut joyeusement receu et conjoye des dits seigneurs, chevaliers, escuiers, gens de l'Eglise, notables, bourgeois et si grant multitude de peuple, que à paine y avoit place et espace pour à aisement aler en son logis, ou elle fut honnourablement menee, passant sur draps de laine dès le lieu de sa descendue jusques en son dit logeiz.

“Par aucuns jours fut ma dite dame au dit lieu de l'Escluze, où par plusieurs foiz fut joyeusement et amiablement visitée de mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne, son

seigneur et espoux. Aussi la y vindrent veoir et visiter pluseurs prelaz et gens de l'Eglise, chevaliers, escuiers, notables et bourgeois, envoyez et representans les trois estas du pays de Flandres, et pareillement les deputez des quatre membres du pays, qui tous luy firent humble reverence et luy offrirent leur service.

“ Le second jour de Janvier ensuivant, madame de Bedford, seur germaine de mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne, et espeuse de monseigneur le duc de Bedford, regent de France, vint de la ville de Bruges par yaue au dit lieu de l'Escluze, bien et gentement acompaignié, pour veoir et visiter ma dite dame sa sœur, au devant de laquelle ycelle madame de Bourgoingne, bien aussi acompaignee, ala jusques sur la riviere, dont ma dite dame de Bedford descendy ou dit lieu de l'Escluse, et ensemble alerent en l'ostel de ma dite dame de Bourgoingne, où, en monstrant la grant amitié d'entre elles jeurent tout en ung mesmes lit par deux nutees que ma dite dame de Bedford demoura au dit lieu de l'Escluze, et s'entrefirent si bonne et joyeuse chiere, que ce fut grant plaisir de le veoir.

“ Au vij^e jour du dit Janvier, vint mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne en l'ostel où ma dite dame sa compaignie estoit logee à l'Escluze, acompaignié de monseigneur Jehan de Luxembourg, seigneur de Beaurevoir; monseigneur d'Anthune, son chancellier; le seigneur de Roubais, messire Guilbert de Lannoy, André de Tholonjon, le dit prevost de Harlebecque et aucuns autres de ses gens et serviteurs à ce appelez en petit nombre; et là, environ vj heures de matin, aprez ce que mon dit seigneur et de sa part agréé les espousailles ou recepcion, par parolle de present, par le dit seigneur de Roubais, en son

nom et comme procureur, faictes en Portugal, de ma dite dame l'infante, comme dessus est escript, et aussi que icelle dame ot ratifié et aggréé les dites espousailles ou recepcion, que d'elle en sa personne et de mon dit seigneur, par son procureur, avoient esté faictes, furent par maistre Jehan Toisi, l'evesque de Tournay, qui adonc revesti en pontifical fist l'office de la messe, faictes les espousailles de mon dit seigneur et de ma dite dame en leurs personnes, presens à ce, du costé d'icelle dame, monseigneur l'infant domp Fernande son frère, monseigneur le conte d'Orin, l'evesque d'Evre et aucuns autres en petit nombre à ce appelez.

“ Ce mesme jour, apres disner, ma dite dame grandement acompaignee, vint par yaue de l'Escluze au Dam, où elle descendy et reposa la nuit, et y fut bien et gracieusement receu selon le lieu.

“ Le lendemain, qui fut le Dimenche viij^e jour du dit Janvier, se party ma dite dame bien matin du Dam, et par yaue vint prez de la bonne ville de Bruges, et descendy assez prez de la porte que on dit la Spee porte. Ilec trouva que mon dit seigneur lui avoit fait appareiller pour sa personne une tres belle lictiere, precieusement ouvree, richement couverte de riche drap d'or, soustenue et portee de deux beaulx haulx chevaulx ou haquenees : avec ce y avoit mon dit seigneur fait mener pluseurs charioz et dames? richement ouvrez, parez et couvers, et bien attellez et furniz de moult beaulx chevaulx et haquenees et de grant pris pour porter les dames, damoiselles et femmes de ma dite dame.”

Registre 132 de la Chambre des Comptes, fol. clvij-clxvj.
Brussels : State Archives.

- c.1450. PIZZICOLLI, Cyriacus, of Ancona, 1391-1457, is the earliest known author who makes mention of John van Eyck. Sundry notes left by him were first printed by Colucci, in "Antichita Picene," xv, 143. Among them occurs this brief mention: "Rugerus (De la Pasture) in Bursella, post preclarum illum Brugiensem, picture decus, Ioannem, insignis nostri temporis pictor habetur."
1454. FACIO, Bartolomeo, "Liber de Viris illustribus," written 1454-55, first printed at Florence in 1745, contains the following interesting notice, p. 46: "Ioannes Gallicus nostri saeculi pictorum princeps iudicatus est, litterarum nonnihil doctus, geometriae praesertim et earum artium quae ad picturae ornamentum accederent, putaturque ob eam rem multa de colorum proprietatibus invenisse, quae ab antiquis tradita, ex Plinii et aliorum auctorum lectione didicerat. Eius est tabula insignis in penetralibus Alphonsi regis in qua est Maria Virgo ipsa, venustate ac verecundia notabilis, Gabriel, angelus Dei, filium ex ea nasciturum annuntians, excellenti pulchritudine capillis veros vincentibus, Ioannes Baptista vitae sanctitatem et austeritatem admirabilem prae se ferens, Hieronymus viventi persimilis, bibliotheca mirae artis, quippe quae, si paulum ab ea discedas, videatur introrsus recedere, et totos libros pandere, quorum capita modo appropinquanti appareant. In eiusdem tabulae exteriori parte pictus est Baptista Lomellinus cuius fuit ipsa tabula, cui solam vocem deesse iudices, et mulier, quam amabat, praestanti forma, et ipsa, qualis erat, ad unguem expressa, inter quos solis radius veluti per rimam illabebatur, quem verum solem putes. Eius est mundi comprehensio, orbiculari forma, quam Philippo, Belgarum principi, pinxit, quo nullum consummatius opus nostra aetate factum putatur, in quo non solum loca, situsque regionum, sed etiam locorum distantiam metiendo dignoscas. Sunt item picturae eius nobiles apud Octavianum cardinalem, virum illustrem, eximia forma feminae, e balneo exeuntes, occultiores corporis partes tenui linteo velatae, notabili rubore, e quibus unius os tantummodo pectusque demonstrans, posteriores corporis partes per speculum pictum lateri oppositum ita expressit, ut et terga, quemadmodum pectus, videas. In eadem tabula est in balneo lucerna ardenti simillima, et anus, quae sudare videatur, catulus aquam lambens, et item equi hominesque perbrevis statura, montes,

nemora, pagi, castella tanto artificio elaborata, ut alia ab aliis quinquaginta millibus passuum distare credas. Sed nihil prope admirabilius, in eodem opere, quam speculum in eadem tabula depictum, in quo quaecumque inibi descripta sunt, tanquam in vero speculo prospicias. Alia complura opera fecisse dicitur, quorum plenam notitiam habere non potui."

1464. AVERULINO, Antonio, surnamed Filarete, wrote a treatise on Architecture, the original manuscript of which, dedicated to Peter de' Medici, is preserved in the Magliabecchi Library at Florence. He mentions (p. 182) master John (van Eyck) of Bruges and master Roger (De la Pasture) as the two painters who had made use of oil colours with the greatest skill.

c. 1485. SANTI, Giovanni, in his Chronicle of the Dukes of Urbino, the manuscript of which is preserved in the Library of the Vatican, wrote as follows in praise of the same two masters :—

"A Brugia fu tra gli altri più lodato
il gran Ioannes, el discepol Ruggero,
con tanti d'alto merto dotati,
Della cui arte e summo magistero
di colorire forno sì eccellenti,
che han superato spesse volte il vero."

1495. MUENZER, a physician and humanist, travelling through the Low Countries, visited Ghent in the course of this year, and has left an interesting notice of the polyptych, preserved in the Royal Library at Munich (MS. Lat. 631), first published by Dr. Voll, in the Supplement of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of September 7, 1899.

"De nobilissima tabula picta ad Ioannem, cuius simile vix credo esse in mundo.

"Ecclesia S. Ioannis inter illas tres principales est pulcrior, maior et longior de 156 passibus. Et inter cetera habet unam tabulam depictam supra unum altare magnam et preciosissimam de pictura. In cuius summitate est depictus Deus in maiestate. Et ad dextram beata virgo. Et ad sinistram Ioannes baptista. Et sub eis figure octo beatitudinum. In ala autem dextra Adam : et circa ipsum angeli : cantantes melos Deo : In ala autem sinistra Eva : et angeli cum organis. Et in inferiori ala dextra Iusti

iudices et Iusti milites : sub ala autem sinistra Iusti heremite : et Iusti peregrini. Et omnia illa sunt ex mirabili et tam artificioso ingenio depicta : ut nedum picturam : sed artem pingendi totam ibi videres videnturque omnes ymagines vive. Postquam autem magister pictor opus perfecit : superadditi sibi fuerunt ultra pactum et precium sexcentum corone. Item quidam alius magnus pictor supervenit volens imitari in suo opere hanc picturam et factus est melancolicus et insipiens. O quam mirande sunt effigies Ade et Eve : videntur omnia esse viva. Et singula membra sibi correspondent. Sepultus est autem magister tabelle ante altare."

1504. LEMAIRE de Belges, Jean, in "La Couronne Margaritique," a poem commenced by him in 1504 and finished in 1511, first printed at Lyons in 1549, has three lines in praise of John van Eyck.

" Hugues de Gand, qui tant eut les tretz netz,
y fut aussi, et Dieric de Louvain
avec le roy des peintres Iohannes
du quel les faits parfaits et mignonnetz
ne tomberont jamais en oubly vain."

1521. DÜERER, Albrecht. A few days after Easter of this year, Dürer visited Bruges. He was taken about to see various buildings and works of art. After mentioning a visit to the church of Our Lady, he goes on to say : "Darnach führeten sie mich in viel Kirchen, und liessen mich alle gute Gemähl sehen, dessen ein Ueberschwahl do ist, und do ich Iohannes und der andern Ding alles gesehen hab ; do kamen wir zuletz in die Mahler Capelln, do ist gut Ding innen." "Iohannes" in this passage is generally supposed to refer to John van Eyck ; to me it seems far more probable that Saint John's Hospital is here indicated. From Bruges Dürer went to Ghent, and there he says : "Sah ich des Iohannes tafel ; das ist eine überköstliche, hochverständige Malerei und insbesondere die Eva, Maria, und Gott Vater sind sehr gut."

By "des Iohannes tafel" Dürer most probably meant, not the painting of John van Eyck, nor the painting in St. John's church, but the painting representing Saint John's vision.

1550. VASARI, in the first edition of his "Vite," mentions Van Eyck in two passages. The first occurs in chapter xxi, in which, treating of painting with oil, he says: "Fu una bellissima invenzione ed una gran commodita all' arte della pittura, il trovare il colorito à olio; di che fu primo inventore in Fiandria Giovanni da Bruggia; il quale mando la tavola à Napoli al Re Alfonso, ed al Duca d'Urbino Federigo II. la stufa sua; a fece un' san Gieronimo che Lorenzo de' Medici aveva et molte altre cose lodate." The second mention, in the Life of Antonello of Messina, is the well-known passage in which he gives his account of the invention of oil painting.

1560. VAERNEWYCK, Marcus van. "Vlaemsche audvremdigheyt." Ghendt; strophe 92—

"Veel constige werken zijn binnen die Ghentsche baermen
als den yzeren zolder, wel weerdt te beziene
en die tafel t' Sente Ians, noch al meer dan tiene."

Here there is no mention of the painter.

1562. VAERNEWYCK, Marcus van. "Nieu Tractaet ende curte beschryvinghe van dat edel graefscap van Vlaenderen." Ghendt; strophe 102:—

"In Sente Ians keercke es een autaer tafel te ziene
so constich van ingiene, pictoriale practijcke
so dat in gheheel Euopen, om de waerheyt te bediene
nauwelic en es te vinden eene dierghelijcke:
meester Ian van Eyck hiet den meester publijcke
van Maeseyc een stedeken in ruudt Kempen lant,
in eenen ruden tyt, ons God desen grooten constenaer sant."

And further on, writing about Bruges; strophe 121:—

"Constighe schilderye en heeft Brugge ooc nooyt ontdiert
zij esser wel af verciert in kercken ende husen,
meester Hüge, meester Rogier die wonder hebben verziert,
met den duytschen Hans om te schilderen abusen
en boven al Ioannes van Eycx werc (vrij gheen refusen)."

✓ In this work he makes no mention of Hubert, but attributes all to John. Apparently he derived his information from Vasari's "Vite."

1565. DE HEERE, Lucas, the painter, published this year a volume of poems entitled, "Den Hof en Boomgaerd der Poë sien," the only known copy of which is preserved in the Library of the University of Ghent. It contains (pp. 35-38) an enthusiastic ode in praise of the Adoration of the Lamb, composed on the occasion of the holding of the twenty-third Chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Saint John's church, July 23-25, 1559. It contains the first mention of Hubert, and of his having had a sister.

"Lof en prijs des wercs (dwelc S. Ians in de capelle es)
van schilderien, ghemaect by die M. Ian hiet
van Maesheyc gheboren den Vlaemschen Apelles :
nerstigh leest, verstaet ende op d'werck dan ziet.

ODE.

I.

"Comt hier ghi const beminders van alle gheslachten
en besiet desen costelicken schat oft pant
waerbi ghi Croesus rijdommen niet en zult achten :
want tis eenen hemelschen schat in Vlaender lant.

2.

"Comt (zegh' ic) maer met andacht en verstant,
en lett vry op alle zaecken, zo merct ghi midts desen
dattet is een zee van gratien abundant
daer elc om te schoonst voortdoet, en wilt sijn gepresen.

3.

"Bemerct des Vaders Godd'lic, en Ioannes wesen,
met Maria tooghende een lieflic ghelaet :
tschijnt dat men heuren mont siet devotelic lesen,
en hoe wel is ghemaect die croone en al tcieraet ?

4.

“Hoe verschrickelic en levendigh Adam staet?
 Wie zagh oynt vleeschelicker verwe van lichame?
 Tschijnt dat hi weighert, en ontseght Evams raet,
 die hem presenteert een fighe, haer anghename.

5.

“Maer deur d'hemelsce Nymphen en Ingels bequame
 zinghende discant, elcx gheeft te recht veriolijst:
 wiens diversche voysen men kent naer den betame
 want elc mondeken, en ooghsken dat claer uutwijst.

6.

“Maer te vergheefs men iet int besondere prijs,
 daert al zijn om te constighste en schoonste iuweelen
 het schijnt datter al leeft, roert, gaet ofe uutrijst:
 tsijn spieghels, en gheen gheschilderde tafereelen.

7.

“Ziet hoe deghelic, en eerbaer zijn daer die deelen
 van d'auders en den gheestlicken staet die daer lijt,
 hier siedy (Schilders) bisonder in dees parceelen
 exemple van goet laken emmers naer dien tijt.

8.

“Wie en soude in die maeghdekens niet sijn verblijt
 daer de onze wel mochten zebaerheit an leeren:
 en anmerckt hoe triumphant in de deuren rijt,
 de bende der Coninghen, Princen, Graven en heeren.

9.

“Ten rechten siet men onder de zulcke verkeerren,
 den princelicken Schilder die dit werck voldee,
 met den rooden Paternoster op zwarte cleeren
 sijn broeder Hubert rijdt by hem in d'hooghste stee.

10.¹

“ Welcken Hubert dit wærck begonste naer sijn zee
maer deur de doot (diet al doodt) moest hijt staken,
hi leit hier begraven, ende zijn zuster mee,
die ooc in schilderyen dede groote zaken.

11.

“ Maer op dat wy t'onser materie gheraken,
wilt dees excellentie in dit werck gade slaen,
dat hy d'aensighen al onghelijc conste maken,
hoe wel datter nochtans drye hondert sijn ghedaen.

12.

“ Ten anderen moet het selfde veel lofs ontfaen,
van weghe sine schoone blivende coleuren :
die in hondert vijftigh iaren niet en scijn vergaen :
twelcke men nu ter tijt niet veel en siet ghebeuren.

13.

“ Summa tis vul perfectien achter en veuren :
tooghende wel dat den werckman en meester goet,
verciert was met veel gratien (zonder erreuren)
de welcke een constigh schilder altijt hebben moet.

14.

“ Sijn scherpicheit maect ons zijn patientie vroet,
en zijn memorie groot blijktt in tselfde claerlic
alzo oock zinen grooten gheest boven al doet,
in d'inventie, ende ordinancien openbaerlic.

15.

“ Van desen moet men hem te meer lofs gheven waerlic
om dat hi in zulcke tiden alsoo heeft ghefloereert
doen hi zulck' excellente wærcken eenpaerlic
als hi selve dede en had' gh' experimenteert.

¹ In the margin of this strophe is the note: “Hubert sterf anno 14...,” a proof that De Heere was, in 1565, unacquainted with the epitaph.

16.¹

“Een Schilder uut Italien selfs confesseert,
 dat Heycus daer d’Olverwe broght en heeft vonden :
 en van dry sine wærcken hi mentioneert
 die te Napels, Florencen en tUrbino stonden.

17.

“Wat conste vantmen oynt (de waerheit t’orconden)
 soo perfect int eerste als dese const’ excellent ?
 van welcke belyden alle verstandighe monden,
 dat men heuren Meester noynt en heeft ghekent :

18.

“Was hy dan niet ten rechten tot sijns levens bent
 van Hertoghe Philips zijn meester vul trauwen
 hooghelic verheven ? en als een ornament
 van ons landen, ia van gheel Vlaenderen ggehauwen ?

19.

“Sijn wercken waren ghesocht uut alle landauwen,
 daerom en vindt men boven dees tafel niet,
 dan dat men te Brugghe magh noch een anschauwen,
 ende t’ Ypre ooc een onvulmaecte zo men siet.

20.

“Dese blomme zeer vrough van de weerelt schiet,
 die uut dat onnoosel Maesheyc is becleven
 Brugghe bewaert hem, daer hi syn leven liet,
 maer sijn name zal in der eewigheit leven.

21.

“Dit wærck heeft ons Coningh soo hooghe verheven
 (zo alle goede consten staen in zinen sin)
 dat hi (om dat te contrefaiten) heeft ghegheven,
 wel vier duysent guldenen oft lutter min.

¹ In the margin of this strophe : “Georgius Vasarius.”

22.

“ Michiel Coxsy, hadde voor dit wærck zulk gewin
 twee iaren daer met besigh zijnde in dees capelle.
 Hy bewaerde sijn eere van int beghin
 totten hende toe, als een oprecht werck-gheselle.

23.

“ Dees copie is in Spaignen (op dat ict vertelle)
 te Vendedoly, t'eender memorie bloot,
 van ons Coninghs liefde, die ic voor ander stelle :
 ende tot Heycus, en Coxyens glorie groot.”

This poem was affixed to the wall of the chapel, and was doubtless read by those who went to see the altar-piece. Here, no doubt, is the source of the apocryphal legend of the Van Eycks. The discovery of the inscription on the exterior of the frame had revealed the fact that the altar-piece had not been entirely painted by the master (Hubert) buried beneath the chapel, as had been believed up to that time, but that it had been commenced by him and completed by John. ✓

De Heere, fancying that the early painters must have introduced their own portraits into the picture, as was the general habit of painters in his day, fixed on two of the Just Judges as being the portraits of Hubert and John (strophe 9); I shall demonstrate the absurdity of the selection in the chapter devoted to the altar-piece. De Heere is also responsible for the statement that Hubert had a sister (nameless), who lived with him, painted great works, and was buried by his side.

1565, April 27. LOMBARD, Lambert, of Liège. In a letter bearing this date, written to Vasari, preserved in the Gallery of the Offices at Florence, and printed by Gaye (“Carteggio,” III, 176, Firenze, 1540), there is the following mention of John: “Mi ricordo haver visto in Italia le cose fatte al tempo di 1400, molto dispiacevoli al occhio per non esser nè secche, nè tampoco grasse, nè di bella maniera, et parmi lopere delli maestri che furono tra il Giotto et Donatello riescono goffe, et cosi ghenè in paesi nostri et per tutta

la Germania da quel tempo fisi'a Maestro Rogiero et Joan di Bruggia ch'aperse li occhi alli coloritori, i quali imitando la maniera sua et non pensando più inanzi, hanno lasciate le nostre chiese plene di cose che non simigliano alle bone et naturali, ma solamente vestite di belli colori."

1567. GUICCIARDINI, Ludovico, a native of Florence, born in 1521, who settled in Antwerp in 1550, undertook a description of the Low Countries, and set about collecting information from every available source in order to produce a standard work. The manuscript, completed in 1561, was printed and published at Antwerp in 1567. In the chapter on Antwerp, writing of the Gild of Saint Luke, he mentions a number of painters: "I principali e più nominati di quelli . . . sono stati Giovanni d'Eick, quello il quale (come narra Giorgio Vasari Aretino nella sua bellissima opera de Pittori eccellenti) fu inventore all' anno MCCCCX del colorito a olio, cosa importantissima et degnissima in quell' arte, perchè conserva il colore quasi perpetuamente, nè mai più che s'habbia notitia, stata ritrovata alla memoria degli huomini. Mando costui delle sue opere in Italia a'l grande Alfonso Re di Napoli, al Duca d'Urbino, ed al altri Principi, che furono molto stimate, onde il gran Lorenzo de Medici ne raccolse poi anche egli la parte sua. Truovasi in queste bande fra le altre sue opere in Guanto nella chiesa di S. Bavone l'eccellentissima tavola del Trionfo dell' Agnus Dei, benchè alcuni inpropriamente la nominino d'Adam et Eva: opera nel vero maravigliosa et ammiranda in tanto che il Re Filippo desiderandola, et non osando di la torla, la fece ultimamente ritrarre per mandare in Hispagna, dall' eccellente maestro Michele Cockisien, il quale statovi sopra circa due anni, havendo servito per excellenza hebbe del Re, oltre ad altre habilità fatteli, del vitto et da colori, per parere et sententia di quattro maestri dell' arte, due milla ducati per la fattione, benchè non si conten- tando, pare che il Re allargasse ancor' la mano. Et medesima- mente in Bruggia nella chiesa di S. Donatiano, è una bellissima Pittura di quel maestro con l'immagine di nostra Donna, et altri Santi. Ancora a Ipri n'è un'altra bella et memorabile. Dimorava il detto Giovanni il più del tempo nella trionfante citta di Bruggia, ove finalmente si morì in grande honore. A pari a pari di

Giovanni andava Huberto suo fratello, il quale viveva et dipingeva continuamente sopra le medesime opere, insieme con esso fratello."

- Guicciardini, it will be remarked, quotes his fellow-countryman Vasari as his authority for all the first portion of his statement, adding thereto the information, derived directly or indirectly from Luke De Heere, here for the first time printed, that John and Hubert lived together, and that they collaborated in painting the Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres altar-pieces; we now know positively that they did not dwell together after 1422; and that the Bruges and Ypres altar-pieces were not even ordered until many years after Hubert's death. Guicciardini is the first author who names the year 1410 as the date of the invention of oil-painting by John.
1568. VASARI during this year published the second edition of his "Vite." Since the issue of the first he had received a few notes from Lambert Lombard, Dominic Lampson of Bruges, and Guicciardini; from them he learnt the name of the eldest brother, and that the invention of painting with oil colours was made in 1410. The altered passage, which reads like a paraphrase of Guicciardini, runs thus: "Lasciando adunque da parte Martino d'Olanda, Giovanni Eick da Bruggia, ed Huberto, suo fratello, che nel 1510 (evidently a misprint for 1410) mise in luce l'invenzione et modo di colorire a olio, come altrove s'è detto, e lasciò molte opere di sua mano in Guanta, in Ipri ed in Bruggia, dove visse e morì onoratamente." Vasari evidently knew nothing of the Eyckian process, and to conceal his ignorance made out a plausible story as to how it came to be invented. It must be borne in mind that he was a gossip who sought to amuse rather than to instruct his readers.
1568. VAERNEWYCK, Marcus van. "Den Spiegel der Nederlandscher Audtheyt." Ghendt. In this work the author devotes several pages to the Van Eycks, and makes a large number of statements which evidently did not rest on the foundation of any old tradition. He travelled a good deal, and no doubt saw some of the paintings at Bruges and Ypres, and noted all the gossiping stories he heard from Luke De Heere and others. He gives the epitaphs of both John and Hubert, the latter copied by himself, letter by letter, from the brass tablet, and mentions the preservation

of Hubert's arm-bone, which he had himself seen. He says that Hubert's sister's name was Margaret, that she remained a spinster, devoted herself to painting, lived with Hubert, and was buried by his side. He gives the number of figures in the Ghent altar-piece as 350, fifty more than De Heere. He tells us that John was the younger brother but the chief master, that it was he who painted his own and his brother's portraits, and that he died young. The altar-piece is stated by him to have had a predella on which there was a representation of Hell painted in tempera by John, which was effaced by a painter who washed it. He also adds that John, on account of his science, was made a privy councillor by Duke Philip.

Cap. xlvij: "Van die wonderlicke gheschilderde Altaer Tafel te Ghendt, welcx ghellicke nauwelick in de weerelt en is, wie de Meesters waren ende ander dijnck.

"In die stede van Ghendt, zijn oock zommighe Wonderen ende Singulariteyten, als alvoren ende boven al, die wonderlicke constighe gheschilderde Tafel in S. Ians Kercke, welcx gelijcke men in gheheel Europen niet en vint: oorzaecke d'werck is so constich, dattet Appelles werck niet te wijcken en heeft. . . . Maer desen Meester die de uutmene Tafel, S. Ians te Ghendt ghemaect heeft, en is gheensins minder te achten, uut causen (so voorseyt is) dat het werck dies vulle ghetuyghenisse gheeft: want die alderbeste Schilders van onzen tyde, zien dat werck met groot verwonderen aen. Albertus Durerus van Norenberch, . . . Meester Jan van Mabeuse, Meester Hughe, ende veel meer andere, hebben elck bysonder eenen grooten lof daer af ghegheven, ooc Meester Lancelot van Brugghe ende Meester Jan Schoore Canonic van Utrecht, ooc trefflicke Schilders, sijn te Ghendt ghecommen, ende begon den dees tafel te wasschen, anno xv hondert vijftich, den vijftiensten Septembris, met zulcker liefden, dat zy dat constich werck in veel plaetsen ghecust hebben, waeromme hemlieden die Heeren van S. Baefs voor een gratuiteyt elc een gheschinck ghedaen hebben, als Meester Jan Schoore eenen zilveren cop daer ic te Utrecht tsynen huysse uut ghedroncken hebbe: niemant (verstandt van der conste hebbende) ende die dit stick ghesien hebben, oft zy en belyden (met die

Coninghinne Saba) dat die waerheyt van dien meerder is dan die fame. Meester Michiel de Cocxien anno xv hondert lix uut bevele, ende by laste van onzen edelen Coninck Philippus die xxxvj Grave van Vlaendren, heeftse zeer levende ghecontrefaict: want hy ooc een uutmene Schilder is, residerende te Bruessel in Brabant: maer heefter moeten te Ghent zijn domicilie om houden, alle den tijt dat hy besich was met contrefaicten, dwelck onsprekelick goet ghecost heeft, ende wiert naer Hispanien ghevoert. Men zecht dat Toetsianus van Venegien ooc een abelrijcke Schilder, der Azuer zant, om daerinne te verbesighen, ooc by laste van den Coninck, waer voren dat zoude betaelt zijn xxxij Ducaten alleene om den Mantel van onze lieve Vrouwe te coloreren. . . . Vrau Marie die moeye van onzen edelen Coninc Philips, . . . heeft eens een cleen tafereelkin van den zelve Meister ghedaen (welcx name was Ioannes van Eyck, waerin dat gheschildert was, een trauwinghe van eenen man ende vrouwe, die van Fides ghetrauwet worden, eenen Barbier diet toebehoorde) betaelt met een officie, die hondert guldenen tsiaers in brachte.

“Georgius Vasarius . . . schryvende van die excellente Schilders van Italien, zecht: dat desen Ioannes van Eyck, heeft ghelevert tafelen, eene te Naples, eene te Florencen, ende eene te Urbino van olye verwen, waerdoor die Italiensche Schilders ontsteken waren tot liefde, van zulck een maniere van wercken, ghevende Meister Ioanni van Eyck van die eerste inventie van Lyzaet olie in schilderyen te ghebruycken den prijs . . . ende schrijft dat Ioannes van Eyck tvoornoemde vandt door zijn groote industrie ende gheleertheit ende dat hy die olye wist te purgieren om die coleuren onsterffelick te onderhouden: maer hy schrijft errerende dat hy van Brugghe in Vlaendren geboren was, alwaer hy begraven licht in S. Donaes kercke, welcx Epitaphie aen een colomne staende luyt aldus: *Hic iacet eximia, &c.*¹

“Maer hy was van nativiteyt uut dat ruyde Kempenlant, van een verworpen stedekin ghelegghen by der Riviere van der Mase, . . . dit stedekin is ghenoecht naer die zelve Riviere Maseyck, waernaer hy ende zijn broeder toeghenoecht waren van Eyck:

¹ See in Biography of John, p. 22.

want zynen oudsten broeder was ghenoeemt Hubertus van Eyck, ende was oock een uutmeneende constich Schilder, die de tafel in S. Ians kercke eerst begonnen hadde, zijn sepulture is te Ghendt in de zelve kercke, ende is boven een witte steenen doode, in eenen Zaersteen, die een metalen Tafeletkin voor haer houdt, daer dit (na die oude Vlemsche carmina) in ghegraveert staet, zo ic van letter tot letter gheortographieert hebbe. Spieghelt u enz.¹

“Die aerm pype, daer zijn constighe handt aen ghestaen heeft, heeft langhe ghehanghen in een yser besloten, op tkerchhof (soo ick ooc ghesien hebbe) midts dat die kercke nieuwe ghemaect wiert, ende zijn graf met meer ander opghedolven. Zi hadden een zuster Margareta ghenoeemt, die haren maechdom totter doot toe bewaerde, die men oock grooten prijs toeschrijft, in die edel conste pictoria oft Schilderye; maer zeker dits wel te noteren ende voor een groot wonderstic te achte dat dese groote hemelsche lichten, ende geesten ghefloreert hebben in zoo blent eenen tijdt, te weten bycans over hondert, ende vijftich iaren, als men van zulcker conste niet en wiste, zoot wel blijkt aen die oude gheschilderde tafelen, ende glaesvensteren, die een groote plompicheyt vertooghen, oock quamen zy (so voorseyt is) uut een zeer ruyt landt, daer zy ooc gheen exempel oft voorbeelt van haerder conste in dese landen gheinventeert hadden, ende niet alleene ghevonden; maer oock ten hoochsten ghebracht.

“De drie proprieteten die een excellent schilder in hem moet hebben, sijn volcommelic in hemlieden ghevonden: te wetene, gheest, verstant, ende patientie. Den gheest hebben zy ghebruyckt naer tleven, dwelck den alderbesten patroon is. Tverstant in veel manieren, als in die vremde boomen, die hier te lande niet en groeyen, ende in tcorael dat uut de rootsen schijnt wassende Item in de vighe die Eva in de hant heeft: want Augustinus ghelooft bet dattet een vighe was, die Adam nuttende was dan eenen appel, oorzake, den literalen text zecht van een vrucht, niet discernerende wat vrucht: maer deckten haer met vigheboom bladers terstont na den val, niet met appelboom bladeren, voort in alle die constighe aensichten, die schynen zom te mediteren, som

¹ See in Biography of Hubert, p. 6.

te spreken, som to lesen, ende som te zinghen, ende niet twee onder meer dan dry hondert en dertich gheheele aensichten, die elck anderen ghelijck sijn, ick late staen alle die ander gheestighe, ende verstandighe wercken in dees tafel bevonden, die als een Zee tallen canten overvloeyen, waerinne ooc een overgrootte patientie gebesicht is, in alle die netticheyt ende den tijdt die daerinne gheoccupeert is, so dat men die grassekens met duysentich duyst tellen, ende die cruydekens onderkennen zoude moghen, ende ooc mede die bladeren ende vruchten der boomen.

"Item die coleuren der zelve tafelen, sijn noch zoo wonderlick schijnbaer, dat zy alle nieuwe gheschilderde tafelen beschamen. . . . Hoedanighe historien daerinne gheschildert staen, mach elc commen zien diet belieft. . . . Ioannes den ioncsten broeder, ende principael meester, is in de zelve tafel gecontrefaict rydende te peerde, met eenen rooden Pater noster, op zwarte cleederen, ende Hubertus om zijn ouderdom, zitt op een peert neffens hem, ter rechter hant : Ioannes is ionc overleden, hadde hy noch moghen leven hy hadde lichtelick alle Schilders der weerelt te boven ghegaen. . . .

"Item een helle heeft den voet van deser tafel gheweest, door den zelve meester Ioannes van Eyck van waterverwe gheschildert, de welcke zommighe slechte Schilders (zoo men zecht) haer hebben bestaen te wasschen, oft zuyveren, ende hebben dat miraculeus constich werc, met hun calvers handen uut gevaecht de welcke met de voornoomde tafel, meer weert was dan tgout dat men daerop ghesmeedt zoude connen legghen. Ioannes heeft om zijn over groote conste, zeer lief ghetal geweest bi Philips van Charlois, zone van Hertoge Ian van Digion, die xxxj Grave van Vlaendren, ende men wilt dat hi hem om sijn wijsheyt ende natuerlic hemels verstant, tot eenen eymelicken raet van zijnder Maiesteyt gemaect heeft, sijn stadelic bysijn ende gheselschap zeer begheerende."

1569. VAERNEWYCK, Marcus van. "Van die Beroerlicke Tijden in die Nederlanden, 1566-1568."¹ In this his last work, Vaernewyck,

¹ The original manuscript, preserved in the University Library at Ghent, was edited by M. F. VAN DER HAEGHEN, in 1872. A French translation by H. VAN DUYSE was published at Ghent, 1905-6.

who died November 20, 1569, gives an account of all that happened in Flanders down to the middle of November, 1568. He tells us that in August, 1566, the Calvinists sacked the church of Saint Martin at Ypres, but that he did not know whether the painting by John van Eyck, an artistic work surpassing all other works, had been injured. In his account of the wrecking of the cathedral of Ghent, he informs us that on August 19, 1566, two days before the irruption of the iconoclasts, the altar-piece was wisely taken down from the chapel and removed for safety into the tower. In this account occurs for the first time a description—not, however, quite exact—of the exterior of its shutters. We are told that at the foot were represented, kneeling before their name-saints, the persons who had the picture painted, a man and a woman, opposite each other, ugly figures dressed in the old fashion, who, nevertheless must have been very fine and intelligent, for they had not spared their money when they entrusted the work to such a master whose equal would not be found in a thousand years. He adds that Hubert and Margaret were both great painters, but inferior to John, and refers the reader for a fuller account of them to the twentieth chapter of his *leecken philosophie*, a work which is unfortunately lost.

“1566, Ougst. Esser 'tghemeen volck mede in ghefallen en hebben Sente Martins keercke gheheel gheruumt, oft hier in dees ravesie dat tafereel schade gheleden heeft, dat meester Iohannes van Heyck gheschildert, maer niet vuldaen en heeft, de figueren van der maechdelicheyt van Onser Lieve Vrouwe wesende, een Marie beelde ende eenen abt daer voren biddende int midden, dat en weet ic niet, welc constich weerck alle schilderien te boven ghaet.

“Maer emmer was boven maten wel ghedaen dat gheweert was, uut desen periculuesen brant die uutmene ende zonder ghelijcke tafele, die men heet van Adam ende Eva, om dat van binnen in de bovenste dueren onse eerste anders gheschildert staen, ende an de zelve dueren over d'een zijde inghelen die schijnen te zijnghe an eenen lesseneere, ende an d'ander zijde ooc inghelen die up een hurghel spelen, ende int midden den Vader, den Zone ende den Helighen Gheest, met Maria die

moeder ons Heeren die zij coroneren, welcx peerlen van der croone, schijnen licht uut te gheven, zoo ooc de boorden ende boorduersel doet, dat an dees personaigen es. Maer van Adam ende Eva waer wonder te zegghen, niemant en zoude wel zonder twijffelen connen jugieren, tzelve anziende, of den eenen voet van Adam uutten platten tafereele steect of niet, ende zijnen rechter aerme ende handt, die hij up zijn burst lecht, schijnt van zijnen lijve duerluchtich zijnde. Dlichaem es oock zoo vleeschachtich dat schijnt vleesch te wesen. Niet alleene de aderen en zijn daer inne gheconterfeet zeer levende, maer ooc die cleene aerkins die een meinsche uutten lichame groijen. Ende Eva heeft die figure van een versche vijghe in haer handt, hier duer betoooghende den weerman zijn groot verstant; want die helighe scrift en zecht niet, dat zij eenen appel hetende waren, maer een vrucht, ende anghezien dat zij curts daer naer haer met vijgheblaren deckende waren, zoo vermoeden Augustinus ende meer andere, dattet een vijghe was. Die benedenste tafel es dusdanich: zij heeft int midden tlammekin Godts staende up een coufferkin, up een fonteyne waer af dwater schijnt te vloeijen, ende zoo daer dat men die cleene steenkins in den gront ziet. Die crudekins int pleijn ende die ghersekins ende bloumkins van diversche colueren zoude men moghen tollē; ooc van die boomen schenen al die vruchten ende bladeren telbaer te wesen. Daer commen die maechdekins ende veel andere helighen van alle zijden, elck in zijn oordene, dit lammekin anbeden, zoo uutmēde constich dat niet om zegghen en es. Daer staet achter tghebeerchte ende die bosschaigen een eerlicke stadt, tes altemale een hemelsch dijnck om te ziene. In d'een duere, ter rechter handt, commen ghereden te peerde ghewapende mannen, met haer standaerden ende balsanen, wonderlic gheaccoutreert, ende die peerden rijckelic ghebardeert, al zeer verscrickelic van consten: hier heeft den meester ghenaemt Iohannes van Eyck hem zelve gheconterfeyt, rijdende up de slijncke zijde van Hubertus zijn broedere, die dit weerck eerst beghonnen hadde, ende was een schoon jonck man, raet van den auden hertoghe Phelips; maer Hubertus was audt ende vet. In d'ander duere ziet men die heremijten ende maechdekins commen uut die wonderlicke

eenelicke rootsen heremijtaigen, daer onder uut sommighe bemoste steenen corael schijnt groeiende : daer ziet men die pijnboomen, dactijlboom ende dierghelijcke. In somma zulck een stick van consten en es in alle die christen landen niet te vinden. Buten ende beneden zijn gheconterfeet, knielende elc voor zijnen helich daer hij naer ghenaemt was, die personen diese doen maken hadden, een man ende een vrouwe jeghen over melcanderen, leelicke lieden ende naer die aude wet ghecleet, maer zeer schoon ende fraeij van ghoeste, om dat zij haer ghelt niet ghespaert en hadden te hanghen an d'weerck van zulck eenen meester, die men in duysent iaren niet vinden en zoude, zoo groot ende excellent in consten.

“Zijn broeder Hubertus was ooc hier inne een wonderlic gheest ende Marghareta zijn zustere, maer beede verre beneden desen Iohannes. Hier af zult ghij breeder bescheet vinden in mijn *leecken philosophie* int xx^e bouck. In de bovenste duere, buten dees tafele, zijn ander schilderien : onder andere ziet men, duer zeker veinsteren, in een strate van een stadt, niet alleene den dack ghewacht, maer die claerheyt der zonne boven up den dach. Die schilders weten wel wat ic zegghe. Dese uutmeneende wonderlicke hemelsche tafele, waer bij dat andere constighe schilderien maer en schijnen bastaert ende leelic van coluere te zijne was wijselic afghedaen ende upghewonden met sticken up den turre, up den xix^{en} Augustij, twee daghen te voren eer dees breekijnghe ghebuerde, d'welck duer Godts beschicken es gheschiet.”

1569. OPMEER, Pieter, who died on the 10th of November, 1595, completed in 1569 a chronicle, which was printed for the first time, and published at Antwerp, in 1611, with the title : “Opus Chronographicum Orbis Universi.” The following are the passages which relate to the Van Eycks (p. 167) : “Promeruit et non vulgarem laudem Ioannes Eickius, docens colores oleo seminis lini contritos quam diutissima ferre aetatem, in multaque durare saecula : picturam quoque barbarie extinctam resuscitando. Opus eius erat tabula illa *Agnus Dei* dicta, in D. Ioannis Gandavi : quam Philippus Austriacus II., Hispaniarum rex locarat 2000 ducatis imitatione exprimendam Michaeli Cochsieno.” Further on, under the year 1410 (p. 406), he remarks : “Hac tempestate floruerunt

Gandavi Ioannes Eickius cum Huberto fratre suo maiore natu, summi pictores. Quorum ingeniis primum excogitatum fuit colores terere oleo seminis lini. Nec modo tabulas pinxerunt suis Belgis : sed complures ipsorum tabulae ad Alphonsum Neapolim et Laurentium Medicem Florentiam transmissae in magno apud eos precio fuerunt. Porro Ioannes Eickius iuvenis Brugis obiit : et Hubertus grandaevus Gandae : orti Masaico Taxandriae oppido ad flumen Mosam. Hic in D. Ioannis, sepulcro Flandricis carminibus annum obitus 1426 decimo quarto Kalendas Octobris indicantibus ornato, fuit conditus ; ille in S. Donatiani, ubi eius Epitaphium, elegiaco carmine Latino columnae appensum legitur." He prints John's epitaph, and reproduces the apocryphal portraits of the two brothers. The qualifications *grandaevus* and *iuvenis* are a development from that of *fratello* employed by Guicciardini.

1572. LAMPSON, Dominic. "Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germanicae inferioris Effigies etc. una cum doctiss. Dom. Lampsonii huius artis peritissimi elogiis." Antwerpiae, apud Viduam Hieronymi Cock.

1596. MARCHAND, Jacques, in his "Flandria Commentariorum lib. 1111 descripta," published at Antwerp, makes the following astounding statement, p. 132 : "Neque forsitan hinc excludi velint ubi lubenter habitarunt ac pinxere Michael Angelus, et Bonarotus Florentini celeberrimi : neque Ioannes Vaneickius, summi nominis : qui primus oleo ex lini seminibus extuso, cepit picturae colores Brugae miscere, ac perpetuare, Brugae sepultus."

1604. MANDER, Carel van. "Het Leven der doorluchtighe Nederlandtsche en Hooghduytsche Schilders." Alckmaer, 1604. (2nd edition, Amsterdam, 1618.)

The author was born at Meulebeke in West Flanders, in 1548. He probably did not commence collecting materials for this work until after he had settled at Harlem in 1583. He was at Bruges in 1574 before going to Italy, and again after his return in 1582, yet on neither occasion does he seem to have looked at a single early picture—his own paintings show that he did not appreciate them—or to have made the acquaintance of any of the painters then living there, such as Pourbus and the Claeissens. His statements as to the Van Eycks are derived from the works of

van Vaernewyck and Vasari; from the latter he took several paragraphs, translated and amplified them, adding what he remembered having heard from his master the poet-painter Luke De Heere, who, banished from the Low Countries in 1566, fled to London, where he remained ten years, then, after a short visit to Ghent, retired to Paris, where he died, August 29, 1584. So far, then, as the Van Eycks are concerned, no reliance whatever can be placed on this work.

Traduction, notes et commentaires par Henri HYMANS, I, 25-48. Paris, 1884.

Uebersetzung und Anmerkungen von Hanns FLOERKE, I, 22-48, and 402-408. Leipzig, 1906.

1608. LE MIRE, Aubert. "Rerum toto orbe gestarum Chronicon." Antwerpiae, 1608. Under the year 1410, he records: "Ioannes Eickius et frater eius Hubertus, pictores eximii—Brugis Flandrorum emporio tunc celeberrimo florent. Sunt qui volunt eos natos et sic nuncupatos a Maseica, vulgo Maes-Eyck, ditionis Leodiensis opido ad Mosam flumen sito. Horum alter Ioannes, oleo ex lini seminibus extuso picturae colores primus miscuit, atque aeternos, ut sic dicam, adversus aevi iniuriam reddidit. Divinum hoc inventum plerique ad annum Christi 1410 referunt: sed ante annum Christi 1400 id Belgicis cum pictoribus Eyckium communicasse, convincunt vetustiores tabellae coloribus oleo mixtae depictae: atque in his una quae in templo Franciscanorum Lovanii spectatur: cuius quidem auctor sive pictor motatur obiisse anno 1400. Ceterum Antonellus Messanensis, Siculus, cum Brugis aliquamdiu versatus fuisset, colorum oleo temperatorum usum primus in Italiam attulit eumque Dominico Veneto, et aliis pictoribus Italis commonstravit: ut Georgius Vasarius in suo opere fatetur. Tanta porro Ioannis Eickii apud exteros fama ut pictas ab eo tabellas Alfonsus Rex Neapolitanus, Fredericus II. Urbinatium Dux, Laurentius Medicaeus, aliique Italiae Principes vehementer expeterent, atque Belgio advectas ingenti sibi pretio compararent. Visitur hodie Gandavi in S. Ioannis basilica cathedrali nominatissima Eickiorum tabula, septem misericordiae opera continens, una cum Adami et Evae imaginibus, in alis tabulae. Huius exemplar a Michaele Coxia efformandum curavit

Philippus II., Hispaniarum Rex ; quod in Hispaniam transvectum, hodie in Scuriaco, Hieronymianorum coenobio, D. Laurentio martyri sacro, spectatur. Putatur autem tabula ista Gandensis ab Huberto Eickio primum incohata, sed illo ex vivis sublato a Ioanne fratre perfecta. Hubertus obiit Gandavi anno 1426, ibidem in cathedrali aede sepultus. Ioannes vero obiit Brugis, ibidem in cathedrali S. Donatiani sacra conditus. Annum obitus eius nondum equidem comperi.

The statement as to the date of the painting formerly in the Franciscan Friars' church at Louvain is an erroneous deduction from the words of Molanus (see RUELENS, "Annotations," clxx.). The story about Antonello is now proved to be untrue.

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1625. SANDERUS, A. "De Gandavensibus eruditionis fama claris lib. 1," 50. Antwerpiae.
1627. DE VRIENDT, Max. "Epigrammata," 115. Brugis.
1631. GOELNITZ, Abraham. "Ulysses Belgico-Gallicus." Lugduni Batavorum, 1641, p. 15, repeats the passage in the "Flandria" of Marchant.
1640. MANDELSLO, J. Albrecht von. "Voyages . . . publiez après la mort de l'illustre voyageur par . . . A. Olearius." Traduit de l'original par A. de Wicquefort, 765 and 784. Amsterdam, 1727.
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1817. FIORILLO, Johann D. *Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste in Dêutschland und den Vereinigten Niederlanden*, 11, 283-293. Hannover.
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at the National Library and member of the Institute of France, it has been welcomed by those of his fellow-countrymen who are of an uncritical spirit and know little of the history of art, but are always ready to accept without questioning any statement that flatters their national pride.

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HUBERT AND JOHN VAN EYCK

BIOGRAPHY

I

HUBERT VAN EYCK

AT a distance of some thirteen or fourteen miles from Maastricht, in a bend of the Maas, on the left bank of that river, lies the little town of Maaseyck, a veritable outpost of population, famous now for all time as the birthplace of the brothers Hubert and John van Eyck. At the time of their coming the numerous monasteries and convents of the surrounding district were as so many nurseries of the arts and crafts in which they had long been cultivated with considerable success. Maaseyck itself owed its origin to the convent of Eyck, or Aldeneyck, founded in the first half of the eighth century by two sisters of noble family, who had been educated in a Benedictine abbey at Valenciennes; two illuminated manuscripts, and a chasuble and a couple of embroidered veils, the work of their hands, still preserved in the treasury of the parish church of Maaseyck, are evidence of their skill. At first the arts were confined to the monasteries, but in the thirteenth century sculptors and painters who were laymen were to be found in the principal towns, notably at Coeln and Maastricht, where they had acquired celebrity by their skill; and it appears at least probable that Hubert and John received their early training in the latter town. The

date of their birth and the names of their parents are alike unknown. The elder of the two, Hubert, is said to have been born about 1365, the younger, John, about 1385;¹ but these dates are purely speculative. All we know for certain about Hubert's life is that he had settled in Ghent and acquired the freedom of that town before 1425, and, further, that he resided there until his death on the 18th of September, 1426. John's history from the 24th of October, 1422, until his decease on the 9th of July, 1441, is now fairly complete. Their brother Lambert was employed by Philip II., Duke of Burgundy, on several occasions in 1431 (15),² and was certainly at Bruges in 1442 (32). A sister, named Margaret, is said to have dwelt with Hubert, but no mention of her earlier than the second half of the sixteenth century has yet been discovered, and I am inclined to consider her as merely an airy conception of the over-fecund imagination of the poet-painter Luke De Heere. The only other known member of the family is a certain Henry van Eyck, whose exact relationship to the three brothers has not as yet been ascertained. What further information I have been able to gather about him will be found at the end of the biography of John.

As I have already intimated, absolutely nothing is known of Hubert's early years. Probability points to his having served his apprenticeship under some painter at Maastricht, to his having travelled at its close to Coeln, Basel, and Italy, possibly returning to the Low Countries by

¹ He must have been born before 1392, as he was already a master painter in 1422.

² The numbers in parentheses refer to those of the Documents printed in chronological order in the preceding pages.

France, Spain, and England. It is not known when he returned, nor where he at first settled, but it was most likely at Maastricht, Utrecht, Harlem, or the Hague. There were certainly a number of painters and miniaturists in that part of the Low Countries who would seem to have come under his influence. Most remarkable among their works are certain miniatures executed for William IV. of Bavaria, Count of Holland and Zeeland, or his daughter Jacqueline, between 1412 and 1418, in the splendid Book of Hours which perished in the lamentable fire at Turin in 1903, happily not before they had been photographed for Count Paul Durrieu, to whom we are indebted for their publication. Some of these miniatures are thought to have been designed or painted by Hubert himself, owing to the many points of resemblance between them and portions of the Ghent polyptych. That great work, as suggested by Dr. Six, may indeed have been commenced to the order of William IV. In any event, Hubert must have removed to Ghent at latest soon after William's death, about which time numbers of craftsmen migrated to the towns of Brabant and Flanders, where they could practise their art in greater security. In 1425 Hubert made for the magistrates of Ghent either two sketches for a pair of panels or two alternative designs for a single panel; he received for his pains six shillings (2). As the sketches were paid for—an unusual occurrence—and as there is no record of any contract having been entered into, or of any further payment having been made to him, we may safely conclude that he was not commissioned to execute the work. In 1425 he was engaged not only on the polyptych, but also on a painting for an altar erected by one Robert Poortier and

his wife in the church of Saint Saviour, and in polychroming a statue of Saint Anthony destined to be placed above it (5). In the year 1425-1426¹ the civic dignitaries paid him a visit, doubtless to view the works he had in hand, and marked the occasion by a gratuity of six groats to his apprentices (4). On the 18th of September, 1426, the great master breathed his last, and was subsequently laid to rest in the crypt beneath the chapel for which he had painted the far-famed altar-piece. A brass plate bore this inscription—

| | |
|---|--|
| "Spieghelt u an my die op my treden : | "Take warning by me, who o'er me tread : |
| Ick was als ghy, nu bem beneden | I was as ye, now lie beneath, |
| Begraven doot, alst is anschyne. | Buried dead, as is apparent. |
| My ne help raet, const, noch medicine. | Availed me not counsel, art, nor medicine. |
| Const, eer, wijsheyt, macht, rijcheyt groot | Art, honour, wisdom, strength, riches great, |
| Is onghespaert, als comt die doot. | Are all unspared when cometh Death. |
| Hubrecht van Eyck was ick ghenant, | Hubert van Eyck was I naméd, |
| Nu spyse der wormen, voormaels bekant | Now food of worms, erstwhile well known, |
| In schilderye zeer hooghe gheeert : | In painting very highly honoured, |
| Cort na was yet, in niente verkeert. | Yet shortly after changed to nought. |
| Int iaer des Heeren des sijt ghewes, Duysent, vierhondert, twintich en zes, | In the year of the Lord it is certain, One thousand, four hundred, twenty and six, |
| In de maent September, achthien daghen viel, | In the month of September the eighteenth day, it befell |
| Dat ick met pynen God gaf mijn ziel. | That I in suffering gave up my soul to God. |

¹ The financial year at Ghent began on the 15th of August.

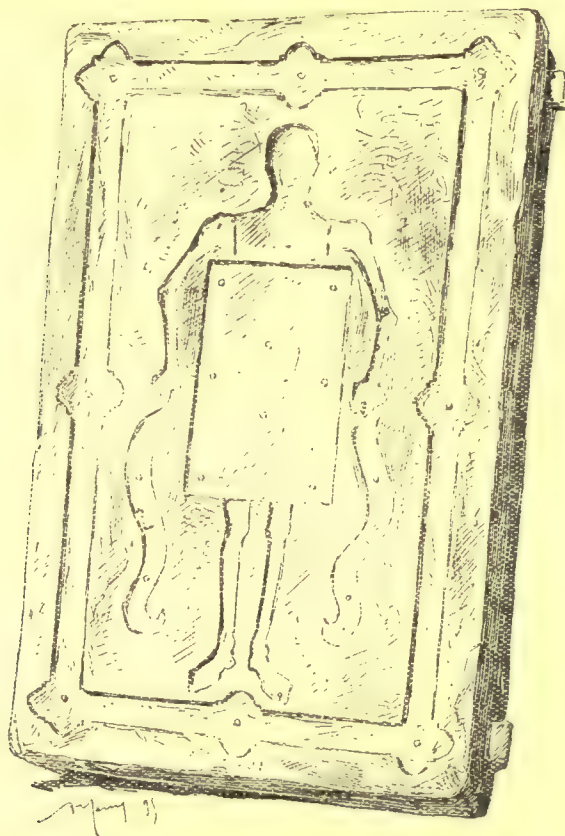
| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Bidt God voor my die Const min- | Pray God for me, ye who love art, |
| nen, | |
| Dat ick zijn aensicht moet ghewin- | That I His vision may attain unto ; |
| nen ; | |
| En vliedt zonde, keert u ten besten | And flee sin, turn ye to the best, |
| Want ghy my volghen moet ten | For ye must follow me at last." |
| lesten." | ¹ |

The receipt by the treasurers of the town of six shillings (8) tax on the property left by Hubert, paid by his heirs, is a proof that they were strangers.

In 1533 the chapel and the crypt beneath it were done away with to make room for a new aisle; the remains of those who lay buried there were reinterred in the churchyard, with the exception of the bone of Hubert's right arm, which was enclosed in an iron case and suspended in the porch, while the brass plate was placed in the transept near the first pillar. There it remained until 1578, when, together with a number of other memorial brasses, it was stolen by the Calvinist iconoclasts. In 1585 the churchwardens, after calling on all relatives and descendants of persons buried in the church to repair the despoiled gravestones, removed those as to which no response was made. In 1892 a slab, of which we reproduce a sketch (p. 8), was brought to light in the foundations of a side portal erected in 1769. This in 1895 was transported to the Archæological Museum in the ruins of the abbey of Saint Bavo. The brass tablet commemorating Hubert may possibly have been let into this slab in 1533, but the slab itself is certainly not earlier than

¹ MARK VAN VAERNEWYCK, *Spiegel der Nederlandscher Audtheyt*, cap. xlvij.

the sixteenth century.¹ It was not shown to Münzer in 1495,² and evidently De Heere had no knowledge of it in



SEPULCHRAL SLAB, XVI CENTURY. GHENT: ARCHÆOLOGICAL MUSEUM.

From a sketch by A. Heins.

1565, for in a note to the eleventh stanza of his ode he says,
 "Hubert sterf [*i.e.* died] anno 14 . . ."

¹ See A. VAN WERVEKE, *Ontleding van den tekst van M. van Vaernewyck betreffende het graf en de grafzerk van Hubrecht van Eyck*. In *Annales de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie*, II, 1-8. Gand, 1896.

² See p. lxxiv.

³ See p. lxxix.

II

JOHN VAN EYCK

AUTHENTIC information towards a biography of John van Eyck is confined to the last nineteen years of his life, and is almost entirely derived from the account-books of his employers. Contemporary Netherlandish and French writers were too absorbed in chronicling the political events of the troublous times in which they lived to busy themselves with the biography of craftsmen, no matter how distinguished.

In or before 1422 John van Eyck became attached to the household of John of Bavaria as painter and "varlet de chambre." As the household accounts of that prince have not been preserved, we do not know what were the emoluments and privileges attaching to the post. John of Bavaria had been elected prince-bishop of Liège in 1390, and, though neither consecrated, nor even ordained priest or deacon, he clung to the temporalities dependent on that dignity until 1418. His elder brother, William IV., Count of Holland and Zeeland, died on the 31st of May, 1417, leaving an only child, Jacqueline. John, determined to rob his niece of her rights, started from Liège in September of the following year on an expedition to Holland, and installed himself as count at Dordrecht ;

then, having seized Gorcum and other strongholds, he, towards the end of the year, journeyed into Luxemburg, and there married Elisabeth of Görlitz, Duchess of Luxemburg, and widow of Anthony of Burgundy, Duke of Brabant and Limburg. In the month of August, 1419, he removed to Holland, and settled at the Hague. There John van Eyck was employed in the decoration of the palace from the 24th of October, 1422, until the 11th of September, 1424; his pay was at the rate of eight lions¹ a day, while his assistants received two lions a day each. (1)

John of Bavaria died at Delft on the 5th of January, 1425. The civil war, which broke out almost immediately, was no doubt the cause of John van Eyck's leaving Holland and repairing to Flanders, where, as we have already seen, his brother Hubert was settled. Philip III., Duke of Burgundy, who not only had heard of John's talent as a painter from members of his court, but had himself, as he tells us, personal knowledge of his skill, took him into his service as painter and "varlet de chambre" on the 19th of May, conferring on him all the honours, privileges, rights, profits, and emoluments attached to the office;² and further, to ensure the prior command of his services as court painter, he granted him

¹ There were two coins thus named: one of gold, equivalent in value to 8s.; the other of silver, equal to 2 groats, or 8*d.* English. Van Eyck's pay was therefore at the rate of 5s. 4*d.* a day—four times that of his apprentice.

² I do not know exactly what these were—doubtless board and lodging when at court, and exemption from all taxes. When accompanying the court he was also entitled to two horses and a liveried servant, whose keep was defrayed in the accounts of the Duke's household expenses.

a yearly salary of 100*l.* parisis,¹ payable in two moieties at Christmas and Midsummer, commencing as from Midsummer, 1425 (6). Shortly after his appointment, John removed to Lille by order of the Duke, who gave him 20*l.* to cover his expenses (3). The yearly rent, 23*l.* 2*s.*, of the house which he occupied from Midsummer, 1426, to Midsummer, 1428 (14), was also paid by the Duke.

In 1426, at some date prior to the 14th of July, John made a pilgrimage on the Duke's behalf,² and in the following month was sent by him on a distant secret mission. During this latter absence his brother Hubert breathed out his soul to God on the 18th of September. For the pilgrimage and the mission John was paid 91*l.* 5*s.* on account in August, 1426 (7), and, in October, 360*l.* in settlement (9). The Duke, to mark his appreciation of John's services as painter and in other ways, twice made him presents in 1427—once of 20*l.* (10), and on another occasion of 100*l.* (11). Early in October of that year he started, in the company of the Duke's ambassadors, on a second secret mission, halting on his way at Tournay from the 18th to the 20th of that month.³ This embassy was probably sent to Alphonsus V., King of

¹ The livre parisis was equivalent to 1*s.* 1½*d.*; 12*l.* parisis = 13*s.* 4*d.* = 1*l.* of 40 groats Flemish, a money of account, not an actual coin. John's salary of 100*l.* parisis was therefore equal to 5*l.* 11*s.* 1½*d.* contemporary English currency.

² Probably for the recovery of the Duke's health.

³ The wine of honour was presented by the magistrates to John on the 18th and to the ambassadors on the 20th of October. The 18th being the feast of Saint Luke, John would no doubt have assisted at its celebration by the local gild, and have made the acquaintance of Robert Campin, Roger De la Pasture, and James Daret.

Aragon, to obtain the hand of Isabella, eldest daughter of James II.,¹ Count of Urgel, a match which would certainly have appealed to the ambitions of a prince such as Philip. If this was the object of the mission, it was not crowned with success, for the lady Isabella, in September, 1428, married Peter, Duke of Coimbra, third son of John I., King of Portugal.² Meanwhile, in February, 1428, John van Eyck had returned to Lille.

With a view to the reduction of his household expenditure, Philip, on the 14th of December, 1426, had issued an edict as to its future constitution, and as to the salaries and wages of all persons attached to his court. By virtue of this document, which is preserved in the State Archives at Brussels, several pensions were cancelled and a number of servants dismissed. No mention being made therein of John van Eyck, the Receiver of Flanders stopped payment of his salary. Complaints to the Duke no doubt followed, for Philip, on the 3rd of March, 1428, issued letters patent (12) to the official in question, explaining that he never intended to include the pension granted to John van Eyck among those

¹ Son of Peter, Count of Urgel, and Margaret of Montferrat. He married Isabella, sister of Martin, King of Aragon.

² John I., King of Portugal, bastard son of Peter I. and Teresa Lourenço, born 1357, succeeded his legitimate brother Ferdinand in 1385. By his marriage in 1387 to Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, he had eight children: Blanche, died 1388; Alphonsus, died 1400; Edward, born 1391, succeeded to the crown; Peter, Duke of Coimbra, born 1392, married Isabella, daughter of James II., Count of Urgel; Henry, Duke of Viseu, born 1394; John, Grand-Master of the Order of Saint James, born 1400; Ferdinand, Grand-Master of the Order of Aviz, born 1402; and Isabella, born February 21, 1397, married Philip III., Duke of Burgundy, January 7, 1430, died December 17, 1472.

that were to determine, and directing the payment of all arrears due, and the continuation of the half-yearly pension.

Philip, anxious to secure an heir and successor, decided, in the autumn of 1428, to send an embassy to John I., King of Portugal, to ask for the hand of his daughter Isabella. At its head was Sir John de Lannoy,¹ lord of Roubaix and Harzeele, councillor and first chamberlain of the Duke; with whom were sent Sir Baldwin de Lannoy,² lord of Molembaix and Governor of Lille; master Giles d'Escornaix, Doctor of Laws, provost of Harlebeke, and court referendary; Andrew de Thoulangeon,³ esquire, lord of Mornay, councillor and chamberlain; John van Eyck, master John Hibert, secretary, Peter de Vauldres,⁴ esquire, cupbearer, John de Baissi, esquire, Oudot Brain, esquire, Hector Sacquespee, Baldwin d'Ongnies,⁵ esquire, steward; a clerk of accounts, and two pursuivants, Renty and Portejoie.⁶

¹ John de Lannoy, knighted by Duke Philip before the battle of Mons en Vimeu, August 30, 1421, married Agnes de Lannoy, lady of Roubaix. He was created third Knight of the Golden Fleece on the institution of the Order at Bruges, in 1430. He died in 1449.

² *See* biographical notice appended to the description of his portrait.

³ Andrew de Thoulangeon, lord of Mornay, twenty-seventh knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, chosen at the second Chapter held at Bruges in 1432, but never invested with the insignia, as he died when on a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre.

⁴ John de Vauldres, lord of Jonville in Burgundy, cupbearer to the Duke, died at Bruges on the 8th of January, 1450, and was buried in the church of Saint Donatian.

⁵ Baldwin d'Ongnies, lord of Estrée, son of Nicholas and Mary of Molembaix, married Péronne, daughter of Guy Guilbaut; died in 1459.

⁶ At the ambassadors' leave-taking prior to setting out on their

John van Eyck was absent from Flanders a little over fourteen months—from the 19th of October, 1428, until Christmas, 1429. The ambassadors and their suite embarked in two Venetian galleys then lying in the harbour of Sluus,¹ whence they sailed on the 19th of October. On the morrow they reached Sandwich, where they landed and put up, while awaiting two other Venetian galleys then at London. These vessels arriving on the 13th of November, they again set sail, but were driven by contrary winds to seek shelter, first in the port of "La Chambre" (Shoreham?), then in Plymouth harbour, and next, on the 25th, at Falmouth, where they remained until the 2nd of December. Reaching Bayona,² in Galicia, on the 11th, they again set sail on the 14th, and two days later landed at Cascaës, a small seaport town to the west of the Tagus estuary, about 15 miles from Lisbon, where they arrived on the 18th.

Learning that the King was at Estremóz,³ at a distance of three or four days' journey, the ambassadors sent a letter by the herald Flanders, informing him of their arrival and of the object of their mission. At his request they advanced

mission, the Duke gave the lord of Roubaix 200*l.*; Sir Baldwin de Lannoy, master Giles d'Escornaix, Andrew de Thoulangeon, and John van Eyck (13), 160*l.* each; the secretary received 80*l.*; while smaller sums were given to the other members of the suite.

¹ Sluus, a town 10 miles north-east of Bruges, was at that time an important harbour at the mouth of the Zwiijn, an arm of the sea which ran up to Damme, the port of Bruges, but has long been choked up with sand.

² Bayona, a town on the Atlantic coast of Galicia, between Vigo and the mouth of the Minho.

³ Estremóz, a small town in the province of Alemtéjo.



THE ANNUNCIATION

BERLIN : ROYAL GALLERY

By permission of the Prussian Government.

to Arrayollos, whence, on the 12th of January, they repaired to Aviz,¹ in the province of Alemtéjo, where the King was staying. On the morrow they were granted an audience, and presented Duke Philip's letters. On the 14th master Giles d'Escornaix made the Duke's proposals known to the court in a Latin oration, to which a doctor of the King's Council replied, likewise in Latin. The ensuing few days were spent by the ambassadors in discussing with the council the Duke's proposals. The time necessarily occupied in settling the details Van Eyck devoted to painting the Infanta's portrait. On its completion the ambassadors despatched messengers to the Duke, two by sea and two by land, with the portrait and a full account of all that had been done—there were evidently two portraits and two copies of the narrative.

While awaiting the Duke's reply, the ambassadors went northwards through Portugal on a pilgrimage to Saint James of Compostella,² and journeying thence through the province of Valladolid, visited John II.,³ King of Castile, the Duke of

¹ Aviz, from 1161 the seat of a military religious order which gave its name to the second royal house of Portugal, through the accession to the throne, in 1385, of its Grand-Master, John, bastard son of Peter I.

² Santiago de Compostella, in Galicia, on the Sar, was a celebrated place of pilgrimage throughout the Middle Ages, the tomb of Saint James the Greater, the patron of Spain, being contained in the cathedral.

³ John II., eldest son of Henry III. of Castile and Katherine of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt. He succeeded his father in 1407, and died in 1454, having married: (1) in 1420, his cousin Mary, daughter of Ferdinand I. of Aragon and Sicily, died 1445; and (2) in 1447, Isabella, daughter of the Constable John of Portugal.

Arjona,¹ Mohammed,² King of the city of Grenada, and several other lords, countries, and places, returning through Andalusia to Lisbon, where they arrived at the end of May. At the King's request, they went on the 4th of the following month to visit him at Cintra. That same evening Peter de Vauldres, who had made the journey by sea, arrived with the Duke's reply, which was at once communicated to the King and the Infanta. The marriage contract, having been drawn up, was duly signed in the presence of a notary at Lisbon, on the 29th of July, and the espousals solemnized on the following day. While preparations were being made for the bride's journey to Flanders, brilliant festivities were held, until at length, on Saturday, the 8th of October, the party, numbering two thousand, set sail in fourteen large vessels.

¹ Frederic de Castro y Castilla, a prince of the royal blood of Castile, son of Peter, Count of Trastamara, Constable of Castile, and Isabella de Castro. He was created Duke of Arjona in 1423, but being suspected of treachery by John II., was in the course of 1429 confined in the castle of Peñafiel, where he died in the following year. Arjona is an ancient city in Andalusia, situated south of the river Guadalquivir in the province of Jaen. The recent officially published "*Historia de la Ciudad de Arjona*" (Madrid, 1905), written from records in the municipal archives by Don Juan González y Sanchez, does not mention a visit of the Burgundians to Arjona. It is probable that the ambassadors met the Duke either in the neighbourhood of Astorga (Leon), or between that city and Aranda de Duero (Old Castile), which are the only known stages in his itinerary previous to his incarceration; or he may possibly have been in Galicia, where he exercised the important function of High Verger of the territory and see of Santiago.

² Mohammed VII., surnamed Abu' Abdillah, who reigned from 1424 to 1445; or perhaps Mohammed VIII., surnamed As-saghir, who usurped the throne in 1428, and was slain in 1430.

By the morrow they had reached Restel, where they stopped until the 13th, when they proceeded to Cascaës, and thence put out to sea. Contrary winds compelled them to return to Cascaës on the 15th, and abide there until the 17th, when a fresh start was made, but foul weather supervening dispersed the fleet. Four of the principal vessels, and among them those that bore the Infanta and the most distinguished of her escort, managed, on the 22nd, to make the harbour of Vivero,¹ where, after a delay of four or five days, they were joined by a fifth vessel. The voyage was resumed on Sunday, the 6th of November; three days later the five vessels put into the harbour of Ribadeu.² Here the lord of Roubaix, who had suffered severely from sea-sickness, landed from the Infanta's vessel, but after some days' rest he embarked with Baldwin d'Ongnies and a few others on board two Florentine galleys bound for Flanders, and on the 25th of November the seven vessels put out to sea together. Owing to a mistake of the pilot, the Florentine galleys narrowly escaped being wrecked near the Land's End; the other five vessels entered Plymouth harbour on the 29th. The Florentine galleys left Lizard point³ on the 1st of December, and reached Sluus on the 6th. My lord of Roubaix hastened to inform the Duke of the safe arrival of his bride at Plymouth, and in confirmation of the glad tidings

¹ Vivero, in Galicia, near the river Landoure.

² Ribadeu, in Galicia, at the mouth of the river Eo.

³ Called in the narrative (p. lxix) "le Camp de Caisart," which would seem to be a corruption of Cap Lézard, just as "La Chambre" (p. lvii) certainly is of Shoreham, and "Pleume" and "Falemne" (p. lvii) of Plymouth and Falmouth. There is no tradition of any Roman *castrum* having ever existed near the Land's End.

the Infanta and her party sailed into the port of Sluus on Christmas Day. The event was the occasion of great popular rejoicing. The marriage was duly solemnized on the 7th of January, and was followed by a succession of festivities which lasted several days.

Van Eyck no doubt remained in the company of the ambassadors until the close of their mission, but whether he reached Sluus on the 6th or on the 25th of December it is impossible to say. He appears then to have taken up his abode at Bruges, whence, not long after, he was summoned to Hesdin by the Duke to receive instructions regarding certain matters on which he wished to employ him. For his journey thither and back to Bruges he received 19*l.* (17). In 1431-32 he bought from John van Melanen a house with a stone-gabled front in the Sint Gillis Nieuw straet, now the Goude Handt straet, opposite the Schottinne Poorte. There, on some day between the 17th of July and the 16th of August, 1432, he received a visit from the burgomasters, John Van der Buerse and Maurice van Versenare, who, with other members of the town council, came to view some of the master's works. The magistrates on this occasion gave his apprentices a gratuity of 5*s.*, duly entered in the accounts of the treasurer (18). Some months later, prior to the 19th of February, 1433, the Duke himself honoured his painter with a visit with the same motive, and gave his apprentices 25*s.* (20). In April of the following year Van Eyck having been occupied several days in attending to sundry affairs on behalf of the Duke and the Duchess, received 76*l.* in remuneration of his services (21).

About this time he took to himself a wife. Her family

of the inscription pointing to a connection between John van Eyck and Arnolfini, and the recently discovered fact that the Christian name of the painter's wife was Margaret (31), of whose name-saint a carved figure surmounts the back of the chair at the side of the bride's bedstead, a present perhaps from her presumed sister. Against this, however, it may be urged that Saint Margaret was especially invoked by women in expectation of the birth of a child.

The date of the marriage is not known, but by an order of the 30th of June, 1434, the Duke authorized the receiver-general of his finances to pay John Peutin, a goldsmith at Bruges, the sum of 96*l.* 12*s.* for six silver cups weighing 12 marks, presented in his name to Van Eyck at the baptism of his child, held at the font by Sir Peter de Beaufremont, lord of Chargny, as the Duke's proxy (22). This child would, in accordance with the custom of the time, have received the name of Philip or Philippina. Van Eyck had at least one other child, a daughter, Livina, who, in 1450, became a nun at Maaseyck.

About this time Philip granted Van Eyck, in lieu of the salary of 100*l.* parisis which had hitherto been paid in two half-yearly moieties, a life-pension of 360*l.* of 40 groats Flemish currency, equal to 4320*l.* parisis, without any reason being assigned for this enormous increase.

The accountants at Lille declined to register the letters patent granting this pension, and Van Eyck, justly annoyed, threatened, it appears, to throw up his appointment (23), whereupon the Duke, who was about to employ him on certain great works and, as he says, could not find another painter equally to his taste nor of such excellence in his art and

science, wrote on the 12th of March, 1435, bidding them register the patent and pay the pension without further argument or delay, under pain of incurring his extreme displeasure (24).

In 1434 the municipality of Bruges had commissioned three of the principal sculptors of that town, James van Oost, Gerard Mettertee, and James van Cutseghem, to carve eight statues of Counts and Countesses of Flanders, which were to adorn the front of the newly erected Town-house. The sum of 5*l.* 10*s.* was paid for each statue, the stone included. In the following year these statues and the tabernacles in which they were placed were adorned with polychrome and gilding, six by John van Eyck, the other two by William van Tonghere¹ and John Van den Driessche.² The painters received 5*l.* for the decoration of each statue, but to Van Eyck the sum of 3*l.* 12*s.* was given in addition. He probably made the design of the eight statues for which the sum of 20*s.* 8*d.* was paid (25). In the course of the same year the Duke made him a present of six silver cups purchased from John Peutin for 67*l.* 15*s.* (26).

In 1436 John was once again sent on a secret mission to some distant place, for which he was paid 360*l.* (27). In November of this year René, Duke of Anjou, who had fallen into Philip's power, was brought a prisoner to Lille, where

¹ William van Tonghere, a native of Tongres, settled in Bruges at the beginning of the fifteenth century, was Dean of the gild of Saint Luke in 1441, and died in 1456.

² John Van den Driessche, who held office in the gild in 1435 and 1440, died October 29, 1451, and was buried at Saint James's church.

he was detained until the 11th of February, 1437. It was probably during this period of his detention that he made Van Eyck's acquaintance.

In 1439 the receiver-general at Lille paid Van Eyck a sum of 6*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* in reimbursement of moneys paid by him to an illuminator of Bruges who had adorned one of the Duke's books with 272 large and 1200 small capital letters (28).

At Midsummer, 1441, John received 180*l.*, the amount of his pension for two quarters (29). He had then in hand a large triptych for Nicholas van Maelbeke, provost of Saint Martin's, at Ypres, left unfinished at his death, which took place on the 9th of July of that year. The great master, though not a parishioner, was, as a member of the Duke's household, buried within the precincts of the collegiate church of Saint Donatian (30), to the fabric of which 12*l.* paris is were paid for his burial, and 24*s.* par. for tolling the bell. On the 21st of March, 1442, the Chapter, at the request of Lambert van Eyck, granted permission for the exhumation of his brother's corpse, and its reinterment in the church, near the font (32); for this reinterment the sum of 12*l.* paris was paid (33); an anniversary Mass of requiem was also founded (34), which continued to be celebrated until the French invasion in 1792. The following inscription was, probably in the sixteenth century, engraved on a brass tablet, attached to the last pillar on the south side of the nave, at the foot of which was the great master's grave, covered with a slab of white stone :—

“ Hic iacet eximia clarus virtute Ioannes,
In quo picturæ gratia mira fuit.

Spirantes formas et humum florentibus herbis
 Pinxit, et ad vivum quodlibet egit opus.
 Quippe illi Phidias et cædere debet Apelles,
 Arte illi inferior ac Polycletus erat.
 Crudeles igitur, crudeles dicite Parcas,
 Quæ talem nobis eripuerunt virum.
 Actum sit lachrimis incommutabile fatum,
 Vivat in cœlis iam deprecare Deum."¹

On the 22nd of July, 1441, the Duke granted John's widow a gratuity of 360*l.* in consideration of her husband's services, and in commiseration of the loss she and her children had sustained (31). To one of these, Livina, he in 1450 made a present of 24*l.*, to enable her to enter the convent of Saint Agnes at Maaseyck (36), a convent to which her father had presented some vestments (37).

The brass tablet was stolen by the Calvinist iconoclasts in 1578. On the 28th of August, 1768, the Academy of Fine Arts, being about to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation, petitioned the Chapter for leave to erect a marble monument with a medallion bust of John van Eyck and an inscription to his memory. This was granted, but the Academy, finding the expense beyond its means, had a medallion portrait painted by Paul De Cock on a panel with a copy of the above inscription beneath it, adding four lines composed by Father Fidelis, of Courtray, a Capuchin friar, between the sixth and seventh verses :

"Ipse est qui primus docuit miscere colores,
 Hos oleo exprimere et reddere perpetuos.
 Pictores stupuere virum, stupuere repertum
 Quo perseverans est sine fine color ;"

¹ MARK VAN VAERNEWYCK, *Spiegel der Nederlandscher Audtheit*, cap. xlvii.

and this chronostich at the end :

“hoC Ita restaVraVIt aCaDeMIæ zeLVs.”

On the 23rd of May, 1782, the Academy removed this panel to their council-room, the Chapter having decided to whitewash the church and clear away all monuments and paintings attached to the pillars. Later on a painted wooden tablet, bearing this mendacious inscription, was affixed to the west wall :

D. O. M.

CI GIT
LE CELEBRE
JEAN VAN EYCK
QUI INVENTA
L'ART DE PEINDRE
A L'HUILE
ET TREPASSA
VERS L'AN
M CCCC XL

HIER RUST
DEN ROEMWEERDIGEN
JAN VAN EYCK
DIE UYTVOND
D'OLIE SCHILDER
KONST
HY STIERF
ONTRENT T JAER
M CCCC XL

R. I. P.

A certain Henry van Eyck was attached to the household of John of Bavaria at the time that John van Eyck, doubtless a near relation, was engaged in decorating the count's palace. John IV., Duke of Brabant, the second husband of the unfortunate Jacqueline, on his arrival at the Hague, took him into his service at the request of members of the court, and in consideration of the faithful service he had rendered his uncle, he appointed him, on the 25th of February, 1425, to the post of master huntsman (“jaghermeester”), with the same salary that previous holders of the office



PORTRAIT OF A FALCONER, HENRY VAN EYCK?
FRANKFORT: STAEDEL INSTITUTE

had enjoyed.¹ Henry, however, probably for the same reason as his kinsman, left Holland and entered the service of Duke Philip of Burgundy as falconer ("varlet des faulcons"). His name occurs in the list of the ducal household of the 24th of December, 1426.² He is mentioned in the accounts of the receivers-general of the Duke's finances for the years 1433³ and 1436,⁴ with the title of "garde de l'esprivier" and "espriveteur." In the latter year the Duke sent him on a secret mission, for which he was paid 14*l.* 2*s.*⁵ In 1444 he married Elisabeth, daughter of Louis Sallard, master-falconer of the Duke, who on that occasion made him a present of 100*l.*⁶ In 1452 he was living at Termonde, and in that year became a member of the confraternity of Our Lady established in the collegiate church of Saint Mary the Virgin; in the register he is entitled "spoerwarier myns heeren."⁷ In 1461 he succeeded Sir William de Quienville as baillie of the town and territory of Termonde, which office he held until his death on the 11th of November, 1466. He

¹ See the letters patent in F. VAN MIERIS, *Groot Charter boek der Graaven van Holland*, iv, 759. Leyden, 1753.

² This document is preserved in the State Archives at Brussels.

³ Fol. ij^{fix}2^o. Lille, Archives of the Department of the North, B 1948.

⁴ Fol. cclxxiiij. Lille, Archives of the Department of the North, B 1959.

⁵ Fol. cclxxviiij, "A Henry d'Eick, que mon dit seigneur lui a donné et ordonné estre baillié pour aller en aucuns lieux secretz où icellui seigneur l'envoya dont il ne veult aultre declaracion estre faicte, xiiij l. ij s. g."

⁶ Account of the Receiver-General of Flanders for the year 1444-1445, fol. ix^vviiij. Lille, Archives of the Department of the North.

⁷ Communicated by my late friend, M. L. De Burbure.

was buried in the church there beneath a slab of blue stone adorned with an escutcheon bearing Barry of eight *or* and *azure*, ensigned with a helmet; crest, a falcon. In his epitaph he is styled "sparewannier, councillor and chamberlain of our gracious lord the Duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders, and his high baillie of the town and territory of Termonde." ¹ His widow died in 1505, and was buried in her husband's grave as were also their son John, who died in 1523, and their daughter Katherine.

Margaret, John van Eyck's widow, was left in reduced circumstances when her husband died, and Duke Philip, compassionating her misfortune, made her a present of 360 *l.g.* (31). She had, we know, an annuity of 2 *l.g.* charged on the revenues of the town of Bruges. This she risked in the famous lottery drawn on February 24, 1446.² In 1450 her daughter Livina took the veil in the convent of Saint Agnes at Maaseyck. Margaret had sold her house in the Sint Gillis Nieu straat in 1444, when she went to dwell in the Oost Meersch, in a house named the Wild Sea, in the parish of Our Lady, where she was still living in 1456.³

¹ "Épitaphes et Monuments des églises de la Flandre au xvi^e siècle par le baron J. B. DE BETHUNE," p. 52. Bruges, 1900.

² A full account of this lottery is printed in *La Flandre*, vol. I. Bruges, 1867.

³ The accounts for the following years are wanting.



POLYPTYCH, BY HUBERT AND JOHN VAN EYCK

EXTERIOR

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PAINTINGS



POLYPTYCH, BY HUBERT

By permission of



HANS AND JOHN VAN EYCK

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PAINTINGS

THE ADORATION OF THE LAMB

POLYPTYCH, BY HUBERT AND JOHN VAN EYCK

GHENT: Cathedral. The four central panels. 1. The Eternal Father: H. 2,10; B. 0,835. 2 and 3. The Blessed Virgin and Saint John the Baptist: H. 1,675; B. 0,755. 4. The Adoration of the Lamb: H. 1,365; B. 2,42.

Berlin: Royal Gallery. . 512. The Just Judges: H. 1,47; B. 0,52. 513. The Knights of Christ: H. 1,47; B. 0,51. 514. The Singing Angels: H. 1,61; B. 0,70. 515. The Angel Musicians: H. 1,61; B. 0,70. 516. The Holy Hermits: H. 1,47; B. 0,51. 517. The Holy Pilgrims: H. 1,47; B. 0,52. 518. Saint John the Baptist: H. 1,47; B. 0,52. 519. Jodoc Vyt: H. 1,47; B. 0,51. 520. The Angel Gabriel: H. 1,61; B. 0,70. 521. The Blessed Virgin: H. 1,61; B. 0,70. 522. Elisabeth Borluut: H. 1,47; B. 0,51. 523. Saint John the Evangelist: H. 1,47; B. 0,52.

Brussels: Royal Gallery, 14, 15. Adam and Eve, each H. 2,15. B. 0,38.

From 1432 until the Calvinist outbreak in 1566, the polyptych adorned the altar of the Vyt's chapel in the church which is now the cathedral of Ghent. On August 19, 1566, two days before the iconoclasts broke into the church, it was

taken up into the tower and later on was removed for safety to the Town-house. While there it narrowly escaped being given to Queen Elizabeth, who had advanced money to the leaders of the Calvinist party; this was due to the opposition of Jodoc Triest, lord of Lovendeghem, one of the collateral descendants of the donors. In 1584 it was brought back to the cathedral, and in September, 1587, replaced in the chapel. In deference, it is said, to an observation of Joseph II., when he visited the church in 1781, the panels representing Adam and Eve were removed from the church. In 1794 the four central panels were taken to Paris by the French Republicans, and there exhibited in the Central Museum of Art, with other stolen masterpieces, on March 7, 1799. The six shutter-panels, after being hidden for a while, were for safety stored in the Town-house, and although claimed by Denon, the Director of the Central Museum, who offered in exchange some paintings by Rubens, were not ceded, thanks to the firmness of the bishop, M. Fallot de Beaumont. After the battle of Waterloo, in spite of the violent resistance offered by Denon, a considerable number of the stolen works of art were brought back to Belgium, and on May 10, 1816, the four central panels were replaced over the altar; but, owing to the general dislike of shutters, the latter were not,—a fatal mistake, for, in the December following, during the absence of the bishop, who had retired to France, the vicar-general, M. Le Surre, a Frenchman, and the churchwardens, sold them for 3000 florins to the dealer L. J. Nieuwenhuys, who sold them for 100,000 francs to M. Solly, by whom they were sold to the Prussian Government for 400,000 francs. The panels representing Adam and Eve were ceded to the Belgian



S. JOHN THE BAPTIST



S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

BERLIN: ROYAL GALLERY

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Government in 1861, and placed in the Brussels Gallery. According to Mark van Vaernewyck, there was also, originally a predella representing Hell, painted in distemper, which was effaced by a man who cleaned the altar-piece, at some date before 1550. If there be any truth in this statement, the subject represented must have been Purgatory.

The exterior is divided into three zones, each subdivided into four compartments. Those of the lower zone represent trefoliated round-headed niches: the two in the centre are occupied by full-length figures of Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist, in the form of statues on octagonal bases, which bear their names in incised capitals: *S. Iohannes Baptista*; *S. Iohannes Ewangelista*. The Baptist is pointing with his right hand to the lamb which he carries on his left arm, and the Evangelist is making the sign of the cross over the poisoned cup, from which three snakes are issuing. The heads of both saints are admirably modelled; the dignified and earnest expression of the Baptist contrasting well with the delicate and youthful features of the beloved disciple. The drapery of both figures is rather heavy, with angular breaks in the folds. Both are painted in grisaille—the Baptist whiter and the Evangelist yellower—as if to imitate stone, but the folds of the draperies are in places so thin that they give the impression of having been drawn from carved box-wood or ivory models. In the two outer niches the donors of the altar-piece are represented kneeling on a pavement of square grey stones, their hands joined in prayer. On the right is Jodoc Vyt, bareheaded, in a simple robe of red cloth trimmed with brown fur, the sleeves of which, loose at the wrists, are of peculiar shape, pendent in bags from the elbows; a large

black purse hangs at his right side from the buckled belt loosely encircling the body below the hips. On the left is his wife, Elisabeth Borluut dressed in a loose-sleeved gown of peach-coloured cloth with bright green lining, and a white linen collar turned down over it; the hair is brushed back off her forehead into a net distinctly visible through the fine cambric veil lying flat over it and forming two folds above the temples, whence it hangs down over the ears and cheeks; a white linen kerchief, spread over it, covers her head and shoulders. These two figures, evidently faithful portraits, are inimitably lifelike. Jodoc's features, though not attractive, convey the impression of a capable and benevolent man. His forehead is low; what little hair he has is cropped short; his small grey eyes, directed upwards, are without power; his mouth is large, with a rather broad under-lip; three warts, on the upper lip, nose, and forehead, are all faithfully set down. His wife is a really good-looking lady, with dignified matronly features full of expression.

A long room with a stone floor occupies the full breadth of the middle zone. Here the Annunciation is represented. On the extreme right, the Angel Gabriel, in a white alb and voluminous mantle fastened over the breast by a circular morse, bends the right knee, and holding a lily-stem in his left hand, raises his right while greeting the Virgin. His wings are tinted of a soft hue. His light yellow hair, confined by a circlet with a jewel surmounted by a cross over the forehead, falls in wavy locks on to his shoulders. At the opposite end of the room the Blessed Virgin is kneeling at a draped prayer-desk, from the open book on which she has half turned at the voice of the angel to express her humble



JODOC VYT



ELISABETH BORLUUT

BERLIN: ROYAL GALLERY

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submission to the Divine will and, with hands crossed on her bosom, is looking up with a mixed expression of timidity and wonder as the Holy Dove hovers over her head. She is enveloped in a gold-bordered white mantle, the ample folds of which cover the floor around; it is fastened by a brooch set with pearls and leaves her neck bare. Her light hair, confined by a cincture of pearls, falls behind her in undulating profusion. The clear evening light is streaming in through an arched window above the prayer-desk, and falls on both figures. In the background, beyond the prayer-desk, is a niche in which are a brass candlestick and a pewter ewer, and, on a shelf above these, a stoneware vessel and a couple of books. The angel's greeting : *Ave, gracia plena, Dominus tecum*, and the Virgin's reply : *Ecce ancilla* in calligraphic letters, are not inscribed on scrolls, but float in the air from the speaker, those of the reply from left to right, being inverted. At the rear of the lateral compartments is an ante-chamber with a couple of two-light round-headed windows with trefoliated tracery looking out on street views below; on the sill of the window at the left end is a decanter of water, which catches a ray of light. This portion of the ante-chamber is seen through two arches supported by a Romanesque column resting on a low wall separating it from the inner chamber; at the left end of the ante-chamber is a vaulted stone staircase with a two-light window, of which the upper part only is seen. Strange to say, the background of the middle of the room does not correspond with that of the extremities; the portion of the ante-chamber connecting these being omitted, and the outer wall of the building being brought nearer to the

foreground. The oak ceiling of the middle is at a higher level, and consequently the rafters do not unite; moreover, the street on to which the window of this middle portion looks is at a lower level than those seen from the ante-chamber, which discrepancies are a sufficient proof that these two and the adjoining compartments cannot have been painted by the same master. There is also a marked difference in the architectural character of the window of the central portion; on its left is a niche with a trefoliated *oculus* beneath which a brazen vessel is suspended over a basin, while a long towel hangs at the side.

Above the lateral compartments are two lunettes occupied by half-length figures of prophets. On the right, Zacharias is seen in a loose-sleeved dress and ermine-lined mantle fastened over the right shoulder with a row of buttons. A large folio volume lies open before him, and he is pointing to a passage on one of the leaves which he holds up with his left hand. His complexion is brown and highly coloured, his beard crisp and vigorous; the features betoken a man of strong character; the ears are not seen, being covered by the lappet of his fur cap. A long scroll encircling this figure, bears the prophecy: *Exulta satis filia Syon iubila, Ecce, rex tuus venit, 9°*. In the lunette on the left Micheas, bareheaded, wrapped in a mantle lined with vair, leans forward and looks down on the Virgin. A closed book lies at his side. Over his head is a scroll on which is inscribed the prophecy: *Ex te egredietur qui sit dominator in Israel. 5.*

In the demi-lunettes above the middle portion of the Virgin's chamber are two kneeling figures: that to the right represents the Erythrean Sibyl, clad in a loose white dress

bordered with gold, a dark cape and a white turban striped with blue, placed on a kerchief which falls over her shoulders and down to below her waist. A pearl hangs from her right ear. On a scroll above her head are the words: *Nil mortale sonans afflata es numine*, slightly altered from a line of Vergil's *Aeneid*.¹ The Cumæan Sibyl, on the left, is more richly attired in a fur-trimmed robe open in front to the waist, displaying the gold-embroidered blue bodice of her underdress. Her head-covering is a rich turban bordered with pearls, over which is thrown a veil. A scroll floating above her bears the words: *Rex adveniet per secla futurus scilicet in carne*,² taken doubtless from the acrostic prose sung in many churches on Christmas Eve:

"Iudicii signum. Tellus sudore madescet
E caelo Rex adveniet per saecula futurus
Scilicet in carne presens ut iudicet orbem:
Vnde Deum cernent incredulus atque fidelis
Celsum cum sanctis cui iam termino in ipso."

The names of the prophets and sibyls represented are inscribed on the portion of the frame separating the lunettes from the compartments of the middle zone, and those of the painters and the donor of the altar-piece, together with a chronogram recording the date of its completion, on the foot:

Pictor Hubertus e eyck maior quo nemo repertus
Incepit pondus que Iohannes arte secundus
Perfectus letus Iudoci Vyd prece fretus.
VersV seXta MaI Vos CoLLoCat aCta tVerI.

¹ Lib. vi, v. 50.

² I only know of one other painting in which these prophetic words are attributed to the Cumæan Sibyl, a fresco of the sixteenth century

In 1823 De Bast found in a manuscript collection of epitaphs and other inscriptions, compiled by Christopher van Huerne (died 1629), a copy of this inscription in which the first two words of the third line are given as *frater perfectus*. About the same time Waagen, who knew nothing of De Bast's discovery, had the green paint which covered the frame of the polyptych removed, thus revealing the inscription which he published, but, as was too customary at that time, with alterations of what he considered to be mistakes, substituting *ab eyck* for *e eyck*, and *secundus* for *secondus*. The first two words of the third line were almost effaced,¹ and Waagen proposed *suscepit letus* as the probable correct reading; *suscepit* no doubt was suggested by *pondus*, which the author wrote instead of *opus*, because he could not think of a dissyllabic word that would rime with *opus*. The lines are Leonine hexameters with a double rime.

The interior of the altar-piece is divided into two zones. The Eternal Father occupies the centre of the upper zone with the Blessed Virgin and Saint John the Baptist at His either side; next, two groups of angels, one singing, the other playing musical instruments, and on the extreme right and left, respectively, Adam and Eve; above the last two compartments, in demi-lunettes, the offerings of Cain and Abel, and the death of Abel at the hand of his brother. The panel beneath the three central compartments of the

in the Gonfalon oratory at Rome. See *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, XIII, 340. Arras, 1870.

¹ Probably by the bolt which kept the shutters from flying open, or by the metal work to which the curtains that protected the exterior were attached.

upper zone represents the Adoration of the Lamb; the remaining four lateral panels being filled by groups of saints advancing towards the centre. The scheme of the picture, founded on the Vision of Saint John described in the fourth chapter of the Apocalypse, was no doubt more directly inspired by the liturgical Office for the feast of All Saints, and mediæval commentaries thereon. A work constantly read at the time, the *Golden Legend* of the Dominican, Iacobus de Voragine, contains in the chapter on the feast of All Saints, an account of "a vision that happened in the second year after the feast was established by Pope Gregory. On a time when the sexton of Saint Peter had by devotion visited all the altars of the church, and had required suffrages of all the saints, at last he came again to the altar of Saint Peter, and there rested a little, and saw there a vision. For he saw the King of kings in an high throne sit, and all the angels about Him. And the Blessed Virgin of virgins came crowned with a right resplendishing crown, and there followed her a great multitude of virgins without number and continents also. And anon the King arose against her, and made her to sit on a seat by Him. And after came a man clad with the skin of a camel, and a great number of ancient and honourable fathers following him; and after came a man in the habit of a bishop, and a great multitude in semblable habit following him; and after came a multitude of knights without number, whom followed a great company of diverse people. Then came they all to fore the throne of the King, and adored Him upon their knees."

This work would certainly have been known to the

theologian who drew up the scheme which Hubert carried out in such an admirable manner.

The central panel of the upper zone outtops the others. Here the Eternal Father, solemn of mien, sits enthroned in majesty, crowned with a white tiara encircled with three bands of gold set with amethysts, diamonds, and a profusion of pearls; its lappets adorned with crosses fall on each side of His face. Over a robe girt with a tasselled cord He wears a splendid red mantle fastened in front by a large circular jewelled morse, leaving visible one band of a precious stole crossed over His breast, showing the word "SABAOT" formed by pearls. The mantle has a jewelled border very deep at the foot and charged with the words "ANANX ANANXIN PEX PEIV" (King of kings), partly in Greek characters. His right hand is raised in the act of blessing, while with the left He holds a sceptre of crystal with mountings and a finial of gold, of exquisite workmanship,—this and a crown on the pavement at His feet, symbolizing the kingdoms of the earth, are splendid specimens of the goldsmith's art. A brocaded cloth of honour stretched across the back of the throne shows, in gold on a dark-blue ground, a nest in which a pelican is billing its breast, the blood falling on its young and restoring them to life, this symbolical design being surrounded by vine-branches laden with grapes and a scroll inscribed "IHESVS XP̄S." The moldings of the high rounded back of the throne bear, in three concentric lines the inscription :

+ HIC EST DEVS POTENTISSIMVS PROPTER DIVINAM
MAIESTATEM + SVMMVS OMNIVM OPTIMVS PROPTER



THE BLESSED VIRGIN



S. JOHN THE BAPTIST

GHEENT: CATHEDRAL

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DVLCEDINIS BONITATEM + REMVNERATOR LIBER-
LISSIMVS PROPTER IMMENSAM LARGITATEM.

Along the front of the foot-pace is the legend :

VITA SINE MORTE IN CAPITE.
IVVENTVS SINE SENECTVTE IN FRONTE.
GAVDIVM SINE MERORE A DEXTRIS.
SECVRITAS SINE TIMORE A SINISTRIS.+

The panel on the right is occupied by the Blessed Virgin clothed in a blue dress with tight sleeves buttoned at the wrist, and, over this, an ample blue mantle, kept from slipping off the shoulders by a tasselled cord attached to two jewels on its border. A magnificent gold crown with symbolic lilies and roses, above which float eight stars, binds her long fair hair, which falls in wavy masses over her shoulders. With both hands she holds an open book, on a passage of which she is apparently meditating. The neckband of her dress and her mantle are bordered with precious stones between two rows of pearls. The white damask cloth of honour at her back has a diaper of gold flowers and scrolls with Saracenic letters. The arched back of her throne bears these words :

+ HEC EST SPECIOSIOR SOLE + SVPER OMNEM
STELLARVM DISPOSICIONEM LVCI COMPARATA INVE-
NITVR PRIOR CANDOR EST ENIM LVCIS ETERNE
+ SPECVLVM SINE MACVLA DEI (maiestatis).

On the panel to the left Saint John Baptist, an austere figure with long hair, thick beard, and bare feet, sits with hand upraised as though to emphasize the words of the Prophet Isaias : *Consolamini, consolamini popule meus*, in

the book which lies open on his knees. Over a garment of brown camel's hair girt with a scarf, he wears an ample green mantle with an embroidered border studded with precious stones between two rows of pearls. A red cloth of honour suspended behind him has a floral pattern combined with an inscribed scroll. The legend on the back of his throne is:

+ HIC EST BAPTISTA IOHANNES : MAIOR HOMINE :
PAR ANGELIS : LEGIS SVMMA : EWANGELII SANCIO :
APOSTOLORVM VOX : SILENCIVM PROPHETARVM :
LVCERNA MVNDI.

The pavement of the three panels is composed of dull-red and dark-green tiles.

In the panel to the right of the Virgin a choir of eight angels¹ stand singing in front of an oak lectern, on which an antiphoner lies open. Three other volumes lie on the stall from which the brass support of the lectern rises. The angels, one of whom, in front, is beating time with his right hand, are vested in apparelled albs and copes,—that worn by the foremost, over a dalmatic, is of crimson brocade, its orfreys embroidered with figures of saints in canopied compartments; the orfreys of another, with repeated representations of the Holy Face. Of the morses which fasten the copes of the

¹ "These angels," says Van Mander (f. 200), amplifying the statement in strophe 5 of De Heere's ode, "are so skilfully painted that one can see the different key in which the voice of each is pitched." Two on the left are making an effort to sing high notes, but there is no further ground for his statement. (*See* A. W. AMBROS, *Geschichte der Musick*, vol. III, Introduction, "Die Zeit der Niederländer." Breslau, 1870.)



THE CHOIR OF ANGELS

BERLIN: ROYAL GALLERY

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two angels nearest the front, one, circular, shows a seated figure in high relief holding the tables of the Law, the other, quadrilobed, is set with precious stones. The end of the oak stall on the left is finely carved—the plinth, with an undulating stem of foliage and fruit, a lion sejant, and two apes; the panel above, with a fine figure of Saint Michael trampling on the dragon; the elbow-rests, with two seated figures of prophets.

In the panel to the left of the Baptist, an angel,¹ in a cope of black and gold brocade bordered with ermine, is seated on a metal faldstool, playing an organ, accompanied by five others—one on a harp, another on a five-stringed viol of unusual form, having two semi-lunar sound-holes, but without curvatures. All the angels in these two panels have light wavy hair, kept in place by jewelled fillets, some of which are surmounted by crosses. The pavement in both panels is composed of tiles adorned with crosses, holy lambs, the ciphers of Jesus and Mary, ω and the mysterious “ΑΓΛΑ.”²

On the frame at the foot of these two panels are the legends :

MELOS DEO LAVS PERHENNIS GRATIARVM ACTIO.

LAVDATE EVM IN CORDIS ET ORGANO.

The principal panel of the lower zone occupies the entire

¹ Van Mander calls this angel Saint Cecilia,—an absurd mistake, into which he was led by De Heere's ode—repeated by Hotho, Waagen, Crowe, Kaemmerer, Champlin, and many others.

² This is composed of the initial letters of four Hebrew words : *Atha Gebir Leilam Adonai*, Thou art mighty for ever, O Lord. See GLASSIUS, *Philologia Sacra*, p. 438, and C. W. KING, in the *Archæological Journal*, xxvi, 229.

breadth of the three in the centre of the upper zone. Upon an altar covered with a white cloth, in the middle of a flowery meadow gently sloping down to the front, stands the spotless Lamb, from whose breast a stream of blood flows into a chalice. The superfrontal of the altar bears in gold capitals the legend, *Ecce Agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi*, and the stole-ends, *Ihesus, via, veritas, vita*. All around kneel purplish-winged angels, most of them clad in white girded albs shaded with blue or rose; two at the further corner on the right support the Cross with the title affixed, and the Lance; the corresponding two on the left, the Pillar and the Reed with the sponge; two others in front, swinging thuribles, are offering incense, symbolical of the prayers of the faithful; eight others kneel at the sides in adoration. In the centre of the foreground is a fountain, an octagonal stone basin with a bronze annelated column rising in the middle; on its summit stands an angel, from projecting gurgoyles beneath whose feet and from vases in whose hands, the water falls in tiny jets. Round the head of the basin is the legend:

FONS AQVE VITE PROCEDENS DE SEDE AGNI.¹

To the right are grouped those who, under the Law or among the Gentiles, looked forward to the coming of the Redeemer: kneeling prophets with upheld open books, doctors, philosophers, and princes. All the figures in this group are deserving of close study on account of the variety of attitude and expression they display, three of the foremost standing, especially; to wit, one—Vergil?—draped in an ample white toga, holding an orange bough, and crowned

¹ Apoc. xxii, i.



THE ADORATION OF THE LAMB

GHENT CATHEDRAL

with laurel ; the dark-bearded man on his right, in a red cap and dark-blue mantle, carrying a branch of myrtle, and the venerable-looking old man with a forked beard, draped in a red cloak. Prominent in the corresponding group on the left are the Apostles, fourteen in number, including Paul and Barnabas, barefooted, in light, greyish-violet robes, kneeling in adoration. Behind them stand three popes, seven bishops and abbots, two deacons—the one nearest the foreground, Saint Stephen, characterized by the stones he carries in his dalmatic ; the other, immediately behind him, Saint Livin, patron of Ghent, holding a crosier and the pincers with his tongue in them—and a number of monks and clerks. Higher up the slope in the mid-distance are, on each side, flowering plants, shrubs, and trees, from between which two distinct groups are seen advancing towards the centre. On the right, an army of martyrs : popes, cardinals, bishops, and other saints, clad in blue vestments, with the exception of the pope in the front row, who wears a black dalmatic and cope embroidered with gold ; all carry palm-branches ; on the left, a multitude of virgins, headed by Saints Dorothy, Katherine, Barbara, and Agnes, bearing their respective emblems and palms. Upon all fall illuminating rays from the Holy Dove poised high over the altar, and between the Lamb and the Eternal Father. Through an opening between the wooded heights of the background, a river is seen winding towards the right from mountains in the far-off distance. To the right of the river rises the tower of Saint Martin's at Utrecht, and on a height to the left, a city with numerous churches and towers, evidently inspired by, but not a faithful representation of, Coeln ; further to the left are numerous churches and towers,

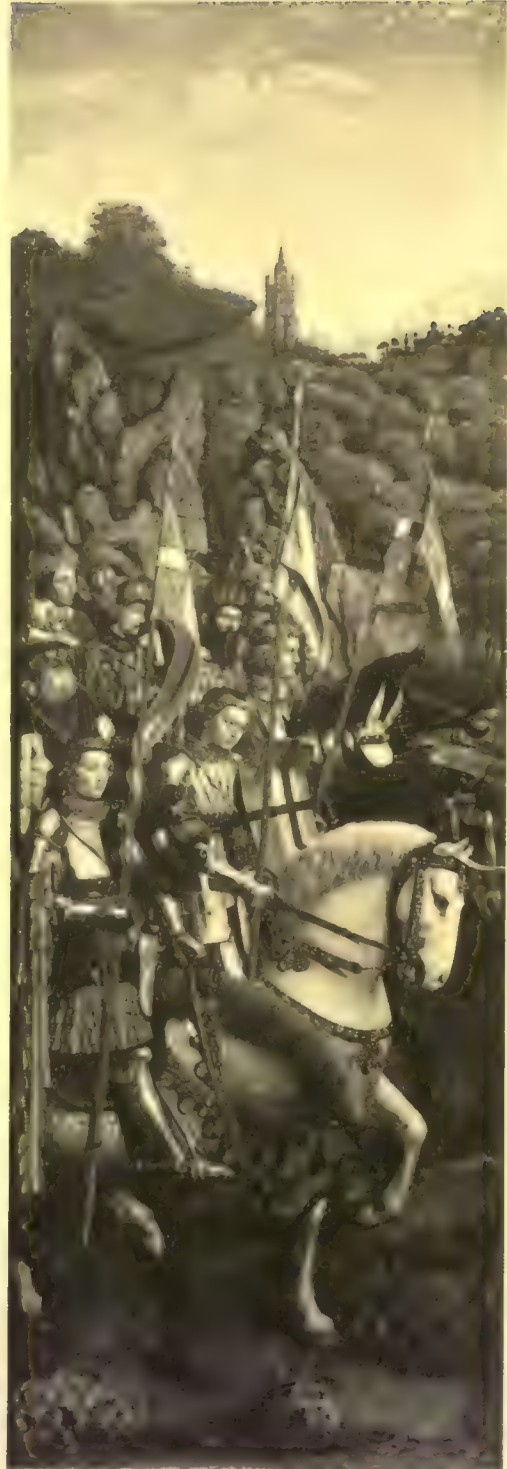
decidedly Rhenish in their architectural character ; these are balanced by trees and by a group of buildings on the extreme right, the most conspicuous of which, octagonal in shape, consists of three stories. The background of the shutters of this lower portion of the altar-piece is formed by a landscape ; that on the two dexter panels is wilder, more thickly wooded and rocky, with two church towers, a couple of castles, and, in the distance, snow-capped mountains, whilst that of the other two panels with the exotic plants and deep-blue sky wears a Southern character. To the right, on the sandy foreground strewn with fragments of rock crystal and coral, the Knights of Christ—*CHRISTI MILITES*—and the Just Judges—*IVSTI IVDICES*—are seen advancing towards the centre, the foremost, Saint Martin, on a dapple-grey steed, clad in armour over a gambeson with long green sleeves, is crowned with a wreath of laurel, and carries a banner charged with the arms of Utrecht, *Gules*, a cross *argent*. On his left are two others, also clad in armour, Saint George on a white, and Saint Sebastian on a brown horse, the banner of the former bearing, *Argent*, a cross *gules*, that of the latter, *Gules*, a cross between four crosslets *or*. Saint Sebastian carries a large silver buckler charged with a red cross, bearing these words in gold capital letters :

“*DS FORTIS ADONAY SABAOT VE
EMANVEL I'H'S XPC AGLA.*”

Beyond and almost abreast of them are two more figures : the further on the line being an emperor, Charles the Great (?), on a black charger ; on his right a prince, in a fur cap, riding on a mule, doubtless Godfrey of Bouillon ; a third, in green,



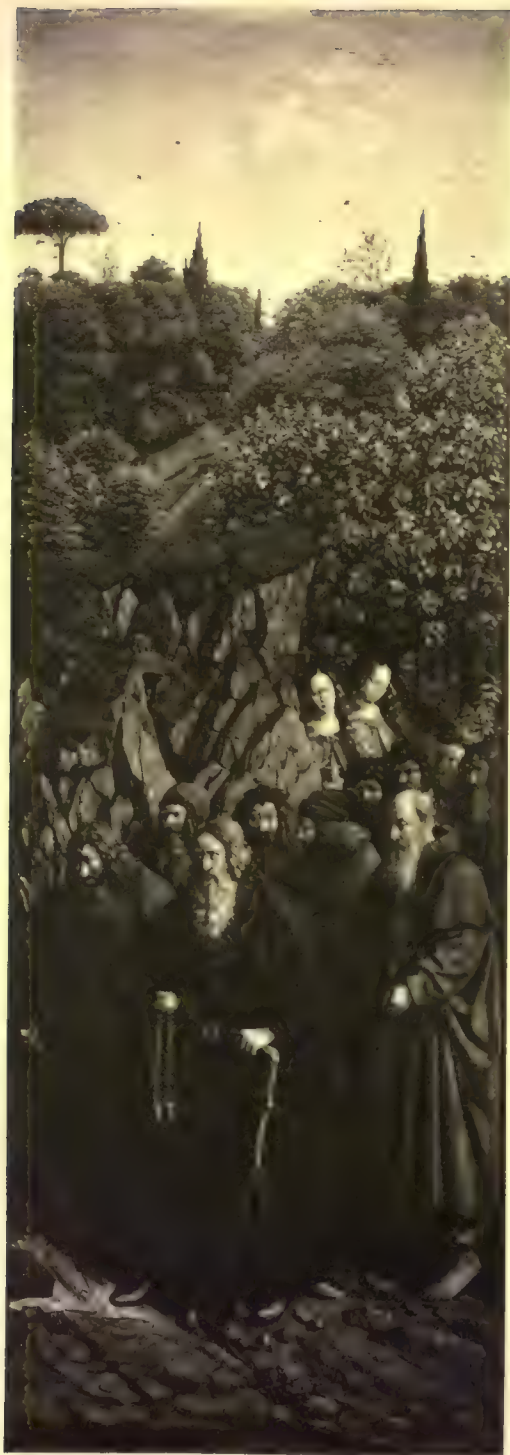
THE JUST JUDGES



THE KNIGHTS OF CHRIST

BERLIN: ROYAL GALLERY

By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co



THE HOLY HERMITS



THE HOLY PILGRIMS

BERLIN ROYAL GALLERY

By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co

with a small moustache, wears a fur hat with a crown superposed; whilst the one on the extreme right, with a white beard, has a curious, helmet-shaped head-dress, with a jewelled crown. Of the two engaged in conversation in the background, the younger wears a crown, the other a blue headkerchief, painted, as first observed by Dr. Six, over a crown, the relief of which is clearly seen when the panel is looked at in profile.

The immediate front of the outer panel is occupied by an elderly man astride a white horse, with jewelled trappings and green housings to his saddle. Of five others in the front row, the third, wearing a black headkerchief and a dark-brown fur-trimmed dress, with a red rosary round his neck, has his head turned towards those on his right; all the others are looking towards the centre.

Upon the nearer of the two panels to the left are the Holy Hermits—*HEREMITE SANCTI*—the foremost is Saint Paul, with at his left, leaning on a staff, Saint Anthony, and close to him another, bald-headed and bare-footed, these two telling their beads; on their right, seven more ascetics, mostly dark-complexioned, with beards and tangled hair, are followed from behind some rocks by Saint Mary Magdalene, bearing her pot of ointment, and Saint Mary of Egypt. On the outer panel are the Holy Pilgrims—*SANCTI PEREGRINI*—headed by Saint Christopher, a gigantic figure with a bushy beard, wearing a cap, and draped in a long red cloak; he holds a pole in his right hand, and points to the centre, as if indicating the way to an old bare-headed man on his left, who is looking up to him; they are followed by a dozen more of all ages, clad in a variety of garments. The

background of these two panels, save on the extreme left, is a rocky bank, thickly covered with citron trees, above which rise a stone pine, some cypresses, and a couple of date-palms. Numerous birds are flying about above the figures in these two panels, among those high up above the hermits is a flock of cranes flying in V-like array.

On the outermost panels of the upper zone, Adam and Eve are represented by two nude figures painted with brutal exactitude direct from living models, just as they stood before the painter, who appears to have concentrated all his powers on the representation of these two figures. On the wall, above the round-headed niches in which they stand, their names are inscribed in capital letters, ADAM, EVA. In the demi-lunettes at the head of the panels are representations in high relief of the offerings of Cain and Abel, and the murder of the latter. On the frame at the foot of the panel :

ADAM NOS IN MORTE PRECIPITAVIT.

EVA OCCIDENDO OBFVIT.

Probably no other picture has given rise to so much discussion as has this. Until recently every one accepted the tradition that the commission for its execution was given to Hubert van Eyck by Jodoc Vyt, and that he presented it to his parish church, now the cathedral of Saint Bavo at Ghent. But this tradition does not repose on any sure foundation. It is not warranted by the inscription on the frame, which does not say that Vyt ordered the picture, but merely that it was completed at his request.¹ It now

¹ This inscription cannot have been put on the frame until after the 6th of May, 1432. If one may judge by the lettering, it was



ADAM



EVE

BRUSSELS: ROYAL GALLERY

By permission of the Berlin Photographie Co

seems probable that William IV. of Bavaria, Count of Holland and Zeeland, gave the commission. His territory was in the diocese of Utrecht and province of Coeln, which fully accounts for the prominent position given to the tower of Saint Martin's at Utrecht, as also to the adjacent view of Coeln. Ghent was in no way connected with either Utrecht or Coeln, but was in the diocese of Tournay and the province of Rheims. Again, the most prominent figure among the Knights of Christ is Saint Martin, the patron saint of Utrecht. The only saint especially connected with Ghent who is characterized by an emblem is Saint Livin, who was also much venerated in Zeeland. Probably at some time after the death of William IV. in 1417, the picture was left on Hubert's hands, and Vyt may have seized the opportunity of making a good bargain by acquiring the painting, on which Hubert continued to work until his death in September, 1426.

Until the sixteenth century the altar-piece was thought to have been designed and executed by him. Münzer, in 1495, speaks of it as the work of one painter who was buried before the altar, and that painter was certainly Hubert. When the altar-piece was cleaned and restored by Blondeel and Scorel in 1550, the inscription on the exterior of the frame was discovered, and it became known that it was unfinished when Hubert died in 1426, and had been completed by his brother John. Then the apocryphal legend was invented and published by De Heere, and, soon after, not painted by John, but doubtless by order of Vyt; had he given Hubert the commission to design and execute the altar-piece, that fact would certainly have been recorded.

amplified. It met with great success, and universal acceptance. Pursuant to the custom prevalent among the painters of that time, of introducing their own portraits into the pictures they painted, two of the Just Judges were fatuously fixed upon as being the portraits of Hubert and John. These were copied over and over again and engraved, and figure to this day in most works on Netherlandish art. Later on the frame was repainted, the inscription forgotten, and the credit for the entire work given to John. The inscription was rediscovered in 1824, but, as already stated, with the two first words of the third line partly effaced.¹ Critics have been ever since discussing the part taken by each of the brothers in the work. Waagen, in 1822, was the first to tackle the question, but at the end of more than fourscore years the solution appears to be as far off as ever. Had the altar-piece come down to us in the state in which it was in May, 1432, there would have been a better chance of forming a correct opinion; but this is, unfortunately, far from being the case. It was cleaned and renovated by Lancelot Blondeel and John Scorel in 1550,² probably with loving care; but since then it has undergone no less than four restorations. The first, in 1663, was by Anthony Van den Heuvel. In 1822 the four central panels suffered severely from a fire that broke out in the cathedral; hot ashes fell on the altar, and the panel of the Adoration was split. A man named Lorent was employed in 1825 and 1828

¹ The damage had no doubt been done before Christopher van Huerne copied the inscription.

² According to Mark van Vaernewyck, 1568, it had been previously cleaned by a man who effaced the tempera painting on the predella.

to repair the damage, at the wage of 15 francs a day. He devoted eight days to the Virgin, twelve to the Eternal Father, fifteen to Saint John the Baptist, and eighteen to the Adoration of the Lamb. In 1859 these panels were again restored by Donselaer; each of which restorations diminished the chance of forming a correct opinion.

It is only within the last six years that the discovery of the Turin miniatures, the critical examination of a certain number of pictures which have come to light, and the inter-comparison of these, have begun to shed fresh light on the subject. Those who have leisure and are curious to learn the reasons for the very various opinions of earlier writers, will find a fair summary of those put forth prior to 1864, in M. Ruelens' "Annotations," pp. xxx to xxxix, or they can refer to the works enumerated in our bibliography (pp. xciv to cxii).

Jodoc Vyt, at whose expense the polyptych was completed by John van Eyck, was the second son of Sir Nicholas Vyt, a Receiver of Flanders, and of Amalberga Van der Elst. He owned several mansions in Ghent, and the lordships of Pamele in Brabant and Leedberghe. After filling various offices, he was chosen burgomaster in 1433-1434. He married Elisabeth Borluut. They founded, on the 13th of May, 1435, a daily Mass to be said in perpetuity at the altar of the chapel which they had built¹ on the south side of Saint John's church, now the cathedral of Saint Bavo. Jodoc died in or about 1439, his wife on the 5th of May, 1443; neither was buried

¹ "In de cappelle ende ten autare die zij met haren goede van nieus hebben doen maken." Extract from the deed of foundation, communicated by M. Victor Van der Haeghen.

in the chapel they had founded. Vyt's arms were *Or* two bars checky *azure* and *argent*; his wife's, *Azure* three harts salient *or*.

Michael Coxcie, as we are informed by De Heere's ode (strophes 21-23), was commissioned by Philip II. of Spain to make a copy of the polyptych. To its execution he devoted two years, 1557-1559, and received as remuneration 4000 florins. In 1559 this copy was sent to Valladolid, but was subsequently removed to Madrid and placed in the Old Palace, where it still was at the end of the eighteenth century. Stolen by the French in 1808, it was brought to Brussels by General Belliard. In 1820 the panels were separated; the two representing the Blessed Virgin and Saint John the Baptist were in that year purchased by Max Joseph, King of Bavaria, and are now in the Munich Gallery. In 1823 the panels on which the Eternal Father and the Adoration of the Lamb are painted were bought by the Berlin Museum. The panels forming the shutters were subsequently acquired by the Belgian Government, and are now attached to the four original central panels in the cathedral of Saint Bavo at Ghent. Coxcie's copy does not reproduce the Van Eycks' work entirely, for on the exterior the portraits of Vyt and his wife and the statues of the two Saints John are replaced by figures of the four Evangelists in grisaille, and the angel's salutation and Virgin's reply are omitted. On one of the dexter shutter-panels, moreover, portraits of Coxcie, of Charles V., and Philip II. are substituted for three of the Knights of Christ. The other panels are faithfully but superficially rendered. They lack the finish of the originals and the splendour of their colouring. The draperies are

simplified, the jewellery poorly copied, and there is a want of air and life in the whole.

A seventeenth-century copy on canvas of the inner portion of the polyptych, formerly in the chapel of the Town-house of Ghent, was sold on the approach of the French Army under Pichegru to M. Charles Hisette, from whose widow it was purchased by Mr. Aders in 1819. It was afterwards in the collection of a Mr. Robinson, at whose sale, on the 26th of April, 1839, it was purchased by Mr. Lemme for £99 15s., and by him was lent to the Exhibition of Art Treasures held at Manchester (n^o.375) in 1857. It was subsequently acquired by the Antwerp Museum.

A reduced copy in water-colours, made by Mr. E. Schultz, 1866-68, for the Arundel Society, now belongs to the National Gallery, and should be exhibited in the room occupied by the works of early masters of the School. Another copy of the entire work was in the possession of the late Professor Sepp of Munich. The Berlin Photographic Company have published excellent photo-engravings of all the panels, three-tenths of the size of the originals, and also copies in colour of two of the panels at Berlin.

In the Louvre are two silver-point drawings on paper, which Crowe (p. 66) considers to be the original designs for the outermost panels of the upper zone; the figure of Adam, "a small facsimile of the picture, that of Eve somewhat different, the head more in profile." They are certainly late fifteenth or early sixteenth century copies, wanting in firmness; the head of Adam is bent slightly downwards, with quite a different expression to that in John van Eyck's painting. At the foot of the sheet is an elegantly draped

figure of a woman, and on the reverse six figures: a mother standing with a child in her arms, a man seated on a chair with a volume lying open on his knees, and four women wearing caps of a decidedly German type. Another drawing after the Adam and Eve is preserved in the Library at Erlangen (Kaemmerer, 38). The Berlin Museum possesses an early sixteenth-century sketch of the angel Gabriel.

In the following notes we have confined ourselves to the mention of articles treating of this altar-piece exclusively, not included in the general bibliography, and to the more important works issued since 1870.

1781. REYNOLDS, Sir Joshua, in his *Journey to Flanders* in 1781 (Works, II, 254, 1798), says this painting contains "a great number of figures in a hard manner, but there is great character of truth and nature in the heads, and the landscape is well coloured."
1802. FUSELI (quoted by J. KNOWLES, *Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli*, I, 267): "The three heads of God the Father, the Virgin, and Saint John the Baptist are not inferior in roundness, force, or sweetness to the heads of Leonardo da Vinci, and possess a more positive principle of colour."
1857. FOERSTER, *Denkmale Deutscher Kunst: Das Genter Altarwerk der Brüder Van Eyk*, III, 15-24.
1865. SCHAEPKENS, *Extérieur de deux panneaux de la grande composition de l'Agneau mystique*, in *Messenger des Sciences*, 165-170. Gand.
1872. CROWE, 57: "The whole of the outer part may have been executed under supervision by the pupils of the Van Eycks. The three great figures of the Father, Mary, and Saint John, and those of Adam and Eve, are undoubted works of Hubert."
1887. BODE, 212: "There can be no doubt that the composition of the entire work is due to Hubert, who in addition covered all the panels and finished or nearly finished the whole of one row. I recognize his hand and his exclusively in the paintings on the


exterior, particularly in the superb portraits of the donor and his wife." He attributes the three figures of God, the Blessed Virgin, and Saint John the Baptist, entirely to Hubert. In the two panels of the angels another hand has added cold tints, violet and rose, to the original warmer flesh tones. Adam and Eve are certainly the work of one hand, whether Hubert's or John's; the hand of the latter is recognisable in the five lower panels, especially in the central one. Hubert's work is far superior to that of John, who laboured under a great disadvantage in that he had to complete a work already far advanced, and to which, until his brother's death, he had remained an entire stranger.

1887. CONWAY, 133, considers the Adoration panel to be certainly the work of John.
1889. SEECK, in *Jahrbuch der kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, x, 145-150.
1890. WOERMANN, 340-341.
1894. REBER, 104-106. The entire work designed by Hubert. God, the Blessed Virgin, Saint John the Baptist, and the Adoration of the Lamb with the exception of the landscape, painted by him; the landscape of this and the other panels by John, who certainly painted Adam and Eve. Is in doubt as to who painted the Annunciation.
1898. KAEMMERER, 10-38, strangely says that the Last Judgment was represented on the predella, for which there is no authority, and where it would have been entirely out of place. He is of opinion that Hubert designed the whole work, and executed the three central figures of the upper zone and the greater portion of the Adoration of the Lamb beneath them; and that all the rest was executed by John. He says that the shutters on which Adam and Eve are painted are more than 30 centimeters taller than the central panel, which they covered when closed.
1898. LABAN, 33-43, points out that whereas in the upper zone and in the central panel of the lower zone the whole arrangement is at once seen to be strictly symmetrical, the plan adopted in the four shutter-panels of the lower zone is altogether different, in that the means by which symmetry is attained are there ingeniously disguised.

1899. SEECK, 68-70, after a careful examination of the altar-piece, arrives at the following conclusion : the portraits of Vyt and his wife, the five central panels of the upper zone, the Knights of Christ, the Just Judges (with the exception of the bare-headed man in the background, added by John), and the statue of Saint John the Evangelist, were painted by Hubert ; but the base on which the last stands was altered by John. The statue of Saint John the Baptist and the two outer shutters with Adam and Eve, and the reverse, were painted by John ; the remainder partly by Hubert and partly by John. He puts forward a theory (pp. 10, 11) that John was an excellent calligrapher, but that Hubert could not write ; one example that he gives in support of this is the occurrence of the Gnostic Agla,¹ which he thinks has no meaning.
1900. DE SMET, A propos du Polyptyque de van Eyck à Saint Bavon. In *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie*, VIII, 69-71.
1900. VAN DEN GHEYN, Quelques Documents inédits à propos de deux tableaux célèbres. In *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire*, Gand, VIII, 201-208. A full account of how the panels now at Berlin came to be sold.
1900. VOLL, 42-62, takes the central figure of the upper zone to be Christ, whereas it is clear that it is a figure of the Eternal Father, the Son being represented by the Lamb, and the Holy Ghost by the Dove. The three central panels, he thinks, were painted by John in his early days, but are now so obscured by dirt and dust that it is difficult to arrive at a positive decision on the point. The two panels with the angels he also attributes to John. The splendid portraits of Vyt and his wife, which he rather depreciates, present the greatest difficulty to him, and he considers that they were drawn by Hubert, but entirely coloured by John. The other panels of the exterior, those of the lower zone and Adam and Eve, were painted by John after his return from Spain. In short, John over-painted all his brother's work, and therefore must be looked on as the painter of the entire work ! No wonder this critic considers it a misfortune that the inscription on the frame was brought to light.

¹ See p. 41, note 3 ; also *Kunstchronik*, N.F., XII, 261.

1901. ROETTINGER, Die Eva der Genter Altarwerkes, in *Allgemeine Zeitung*, München, Beilage, 198.
1901. BODE, 127.
1902. LAFENESTRE, 132-135.
1902. HYMANS, 14. The figures of Adam and Eve may with sufficient probability be assigned to Hubert.
1902. HULIN, Catalogue, 9. There can be no doubt here: the figures of Adam and Eve are certainly the work of John, not of Hubert.
1903. DUELBERG, 51.
1903. DURRIEU, 9-32.
1903. KIRCHNER, J., Die Darstellung des ersten Menschen paares in der bildenden Kunst, 102-104. Stuttgart.
1903. MARKS, 8, praises the wonderfully faithful renderings of the exotic plants represented, which he unhesitatingly attributes to John.
1903. ROSEN, 62-91, enumerates the various trees and plants, and criticizes the representation of these and of the rocks and landscape.
1903. SCHUBERT, 21-28.
1904. WEALE, 26-28.
1904. SIX, 177-187.
1904. DVOŘÁK, 191.
1904. KERN, 6-9, plates 2, 3, and 14.
1904. L. and A. De mystieke Beteekenis van het Gentsche Altarstuk. In *Dietsche Warande en Belfort*, 309-328. Antwerpen.
1905. FIERENS, 176-215, attributes nearly everything to John, but condescendingly grants to Hubert the glory of having conceived and designed the three central figures of the upper zone,—a concession which, he says, it is difficult to refuse to traditional opinion; but at the same time, one must recognize that only one painter could thus model their draperies and the face of the Virgin, and display such splendid colour, which painter was John van Eyck. He says the altar-piece was designed *c.* 1420, and settles to his own satisfaction the date at which each panel was painted, the Adoration of the Lamb and the face of the shutters on each side being the first, and the whole of the exterior the last to be executed. He repeats Kaemmerer's statement that the Last Judgment was represented on the predella, giving, however, by mistake Vaernewyck and Van Mander as his authorities.

1905. MUTHER, I, 60, 70-72, attributes the figures of the Eternal Father, the Blessed Virgin, Saint John the Baptist, and the angel musicians to Hubert; all the rest to John, who he thinks altered Hubert's design.
1906. HEINS. La plus ancienne vue de Gand. In *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire*, 115-126. The view seen from the window of the Virgin's chamber represents a street in Ghent.
1906. MAETERLINCK. Une œuvre de Van Eyck mimée à Gand au xv^e siècle. In *Bulletin de l'Art ancien*, 215-216. An account of a mystery play given at Ghent on the occasion of the joyous entry of Philip III., Duke of Burgundy, after the battle of Gavere, 23 April, 1458. It represented the Adoration of the Lamb as pictured in the altar-piece. The stage was 28 feet high and 53 feet broad. It is interesting to note that the principal Knights of Christ in this play were SS. George, Victor, Maurice, Sebastian, and Quirin.
1906. HEINS. Une signature de Jean van Eyck? In *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire*, XIV, 383-385. This is not a signature, but the holy name *yecvc*; 
1906. COENEN, 156.
1907. MONCHAMP, in *Leodium*, VI, 5-6.
1907. COENEN, 54-59.
1907. WEALE, in *Leodium*, 87-88.
1907. REINACH, 221, thinks that John's share was confined to the two magnificent portraits of the donors.

After a careful study of all that has been written on the subject, I see no reason for changing my opinion that the only portions of the altar-piece entirely due to John are both sides of the shutters on the face of which Adam and Eve are represented. These and the panels at Berlin are in a better state of preservation than those remaining in the cathedral at Ghent, and therefore offer the least difficulty to those who may wish to try and solve the problem of who painted each portion.

PAINTINGS BY JOHN VAN EYCK

1. PORTRAIT OF B. NICHOLAS ALBERGATI

Vienna: Imperial Gallery, 824. Oak. H. 0,35; B. 0,29;
Head, 0,15.

THIS was, in 1659, in the collection of the Archduke Leopold William, Governor-general of the Low Countries,¹ then in the Belvedere Gallery,² where it passed for the portrait at an advanced age of Jodoc Vyt,³ the donor of the Ghent altarpiece. In the catalogue of the Imperial Gallery of 1884, Engerth entitled it 'Portrait of the Cardinal of Saint Cross.' In 1898 Kaemmerer threw doubt on the correctness of this ascription, justly remarking that the portrait does not bear the slightest resemblance to the monumental effigy of Dominic Capranica, Cardinal of Saint Cross, in the cathedral of

¹ Inventory, n°.109. "Ein Contrafait van Oehlfarb auf Holcz des Cardinals von Sancta Cruce. Original von Johann van Eyckh." *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, I, part 2, cxxi, col. 1. Wien, 1883.

² Catalogue of 1860: Early German and early Netherlandish Schools, Room 2, n°.42.

³ This ascription was accepted by Passavant (*Kunstblatt*, 1841, p. 14). Crowe and Cavalcaselle, in 1857, were, I believe, the first to remark the considerable points of difference in the two portraits, and the exactness of their observations was confirmed by Hotho, in 1858, and by Waagen, in 1866.

Siena; and no wonder, for the prelate here represented is not Capranica,¹ but Albergati. This eminent prince of the Church, born at Bologna in 1375, was the son of Peter Nicholas Albergati and Philippa, his wife, only daughter of Dr. Bartholomew Chiopetti. He entered the Order of the Carthusians when in his twentieth year, was successively prior of the monastery of Saint Jerome outside Bologna in 1406, and of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem at Rome in 1407, in which year he was also appointed procurator-general of the Order; he was rector of the newly founded monastery of the Holy Trinity at Mantua from 1409 to 1416, and again prior of Bologna from 1416 until the end of March, 1417, when he was elected bishop of Bologna. Created a cardinal-priest by Martin V., May 24, 1426, he took for his titular church the Holy Cross of Jerusalem. In his humility he discarded his family arms, and substituted for them a simple cross. A model of all priestly and episcopal virtues, he continued to observe the austere rule of the Carthusians, sleeping on straw, never eating flesh-meat, wearing a hair shirt, and rising at midnight to pray. Nine times he was sent by the Holy See on important embassies,² when, dealing with

¹ This prelate was created a cardinal-deacon by Martin V., July 23, 1423, but the nomination was not published until November 8, 1430; on the 19th of that month Capranica took for his titular church Saint Mary *in via lata*. It was not until after Albergati's death, in 1443, that Capranica was raised to the dignity of cardinal-priest, with the title of Saint Cross. See CHACON, *Vitae et res gestae Pontificum Summorum*, II, 110, Romae, 1630; PASTOR, *History of the Popes*, ed. ANTROBUS, 2nd ed., I, 261 and 264-266; and EUBEL, in *Römische Quartalschrift*, XVII, 274-275. Rome, 1903.

² Thrice to France (in 1422, 1431, and 1435), thrice to Lombardy



B. NICHOLAS ALBERGATI, CARDINAL OF SAINT CROSS. 1432.

VIENNA: IMPERIAL GALLERY

From a photograph by E. Bruckmann

matters involving questions of worldly policy of no small difficulty, he invariably displayed consummate prudence combined with perfect uprightness and integrity.¹ Thus in 1431 he was sent on an embassy to the Kings of France and England and the Duke of Burgundy, to try and bring about a general peace.

The Duke, who had started on a journey to Holland, had actually reached Vere, when he was informed of the cardinal's intended visit. He at once returned to Brussels, and sent messengers in every direction to the principal ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries of his dominions, summoning them to him without delay, that the Pope's ambassador might be received with the honour and solemnity befitting his rank and dignity.

The cardinal, accompanied by Amé Bourgois, one of the Duke's councillors and chamberlains, arrived at the Charterhouse of Hérinnes, near Enghien, early in October, 1431. Proceeding to Brussels, he was received there, on the 18th of that month, by the Duke in person, surrounded by his court.² Thence he returned to Hérinnes, accompanied by Amé Bourgois and master Giles d'Escornaix, provost of Harlebeke, who both escorted him to Ghent, which they

(in 1426, 1427, and 1430), and thrice to the Council at Basel (in 1432, 1434, and 1436).

¹ Eugenius IV., writing to Charles VII. of France, says that he is sending him the Cardinal of Saint Cross, "*virum sapientissimum, magnaue auctoritate, ut nosti, et procul ab omni passione remotum, cuius omnes cogitationes, omnia consilia tendunt ad concordiam, ad pacem.*"

² The Archbishop of Coeln and the Chancellor of France were also present at this interview.

reached on the 3rd of November. The cardinal stayed at the Charterhouse there until the 6th. Thence he went to Lille, and later on visited Bruges, where he spent two or three days at the Charterhouse, between the 8th and 11th of December.

The Duke meantime had despatched letters to the authorities of those towns, bidding them receive the cardinal with the honours due to his rank.¹ One of these letters was probably addressed to John van Eyck, bidding him paint the portrait of the cardinal. However, as his stay in Bruges was of such brief duration,² it was obviously impossible to paint it direct from life. Van Eyck was therefore unable to do more than make a careful drawing of his likeness, with such memoranda as would enable him to execute a satisfactory painting. This exquisite drawing, in silver-point on a white ground, is preserved in the royal cabinet of prints at Dresden.³ At the dexter side are a number of notes disposed

¹ The accounts of the treasurers of both Enghien and Brussels for this period are lost. In those of the treasurers of Ghent are numerous entries of payments to messengers, to labourers for clearing the streets of the town and the road thence to the Charterhouse, for wine and comfits presented to the cardinal, for the hire of horses for the town officials who rode out to meet and escort him, to the town trumpeters, and to the bell-ringers of the seven parish churches. The accounts of the Treasurer of Bruges and of the fabric of the collegiate church of Saint Donatian also contain entries of payments for wine, herbs, spices, and wax-lights presented to the cardinal.

² It is uncertain whether Van Eyck was then at Bruges or at Ghent. In either case the time was too short.

³ H. O,212; B. O,18. Acquired before 1765. Reproduced by WOERMANN, *Handzeichnungen alter Meister im königlichen Kupferstich Kabinet zu Dresden, München, 1896*; in *Die Insel, Mappenwerk*,



B. NICHOLAS ALBERGATI, 1431
SILVER-POINT DRAWING. DRESDEN: ROYAL PRINT COLLECTION

in sixteen lines, evidently written with the pencil used for the drawing; these, partly hidden by the shading of the head, are now unfortunately, owing to the drawing having been exhibited during several years, much faded, with the result that some of the words baffle all attempts to decipher them. Here, however, are those which can still be read, commencing at the line on a level with the forehead:—"van den voorhoofde—vryssche vnd die nase sanguynachtich—" with the eyebrows: ". . . ten hair clair bleicachtich—" with the eye: ". . . wratte purperachtich— . . . —van den augen—swart um—bruyn geelachtich vnd witte blauwachtich—die vm seiden witten bleecachtich—hecheren . . . van seiden—ich en . . . lachtich—beym anziens . . . bruyn sanguinachtich—es of . . . lachtich—die lippen zeer witachtich—purper, die stuppele van den baerde—heel gry sachtich . . . brat door sachtich—roodachtich."

From this drawing the painting was executed. In it the cardinal is seen to the waist, modelled in a yellowish tone, with few flesh tints and without any deep shadow. Bareheaded, he wears the *cappa clausa*, a loose crimson robe edged at the neck and arm-openings with white fur, and fastened at the neck by two buttons; the straight vertical folds of this robe, the arms and hands being unseen, give it an elegant bell-shaped appearance. The cardinal's head is turned to the right; his close-shaven vigorous face, seen in three-quarter profile, with the light falling directly on it, is full of expression. There is quite a charm about the little brownish eyes, which appear to be looking out from beneath the eyebrows with a

Leipzig, 1899; in *Onze Kunst*, 1, 4, Antwerp, 1902; and in the *Burlington Magazine*, v, 195. London, 1904.

keen scrutinizing glance, while a pleasant playful smile hovers about his closed lips. The numerous wrinkles on the forehead and the folds of skin on the face and on the neck, up to the root of the ear, are marked by fine reddish strokes; the left ear, seen in light, is admirably drawn. The short scanty grey hairs of his head, in a state of confusion, seem to tremble beneath each other, and the blood to be circulating under the relaxed skin and in the veins of the pupils of his eyes. The background is dark, but lighter and bluish near the head. As compared with the drawing, the painting is less lifelike and individualistic; this is especially the case with the mouth and the lower portion of the face. It seems as if Van Eyck endeavoured to embellish the form of the head so that it should appear less heavy and broad.

1857. CROWE, 88, rightly describes the drawing as the original beautiful design.
1858. HOTHIO, II, 178.
1865. B. PAOLI, Wiens Gemälde Gallerie, 114. Wien.
1866. MICHIELS, II, 293, with his usual want of perspicuity, describes the cardinal's features as soft and insignificant, showing that he could not possibly have been a remarkable personage!!
1866. WAAGEN, I, 186.
1886. ENGERTH, II, 134, dates the drawing between 1433 and 1435.
1897. FRIEDLAENDER, in *Repertorium*, XX, 71.
1898. KAEMMERER, 70-72, looks on the drawing as evidence that John's usual method was not to paint portraits direct from life; but this was certainly an exceptional case, when it was impossible to do so. He rashly suggests that the ecclesiastic's vanity—which he thinks proved by his fur-trimmed crimson robe—led him to give Van Eyck a hint to embellish his head in the painting! A papal nuncio could hardly be represented in simpler attire.
1899. SEECK, 29, 70, on comparing this with other portraits, arrived at a correct conclusion as to the date of its execution.



PORTRAIT OF A MAN, 1432

LONDON: NATIONAL GALLERY

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1900. VOLL, 75-78, considers the drawing to be a very careful copy of the painting, and says that it has none of the freshness and life-like energy of the latter, so much so indeed that it might almost be taken for the portrait of another man!! He considers it highly improbable that John would paint a portrait from a drawing.
1900. KAEMMERER, 70.
1902. ROOSES, in *Onze Kunst*, 1, 3-8. The drawing, he thinks, is rightly ascribed to John, and the writing is no doubt in his own hand.
1903. DE MONT, 55, dates this portrait after 1436.
1904. WEALE, 190-198, establishes the identity of the cardinal portrayed, and the date of the drawing.
1905. FIERENS, 143-145.
1906. VOLL, 98, denies the Cardinal of Saint Cross to be the person represented in the painting!!

2. PORTRAIT OF A MAN

London: National Gallery, 290. Oak. H. 0,336; B. 0,188.

Bought in 1857 from the landscape-painter Carl Ross, at Munich, for £189 11s.

Portrait of a dark-complexioned man with blue eyes, of about forty-five years of age, standing at a window-opening. Turned to the right, close shaven, with his face seen in three-quarters, he wears a dark red dress with full sleeves trimmed with sable, and fastened in front by two buttons. His head-covering is formed by a green scarf, the long lappet of which hangs down in front of the right shoulder, the other end just reaching to the left. In his right hand he holds a roll of manuscript, while his left forearm rests on a parapet of yellowish stone, bearing on the front, in Greek characters, what is supposed to be his Christian name, *Tymotheos*, and

beneath this in capital letters incised in the stone, 'Léal souvenir,' showing that this portrait was painted for presentation to a friend, or more probably was a gift from the painter, who has written at the foot in calligraphic characters: "Actum anno Domini 1432, 10 die Octobris, a Iohanne de Eyck." It is not known whom this portrait represents; certainly not a Fleming, perhaps a Greek, possibly a humanist, apparently an intelligent, though by no means a handsome man, who, in spite of his angular features, heavy jaw, thick lips, prominent cheek-bones and cocked up nose, is a charming figure. The modelling is excellent, the colour rich and simple, but very harmonious and well relieved by the dark background. The under side of the panel, painted to imitate jasperated porphyry, bears, near the top, the

cipher  of an early Italian, probably Venetian owner.

Several old copies of the portrait are said to be in existence.

1854. FOERSTER, in *Kunstblatt*, October 19, p. 373.

1872. CROWE, 94. The drawing is careful; the painting blended to a fault.

1878. REISET, II, 9.

1883. WEALE, 62-63.

1887. CONWAY, 148.

1879. SCHNAASE, 144.

1898. KAEMMERER, 60, thinks 'Léal souvenir' was the man's own motto, and that 'Tymotheos' can scarcely be conceived to be his name.

1899. SEECK, 28, 30.

1900. VOLL, 1-8, 27, 28.

1904. WITT, 21.

1905. FIERENS, 145.



PORTRAIT OF A GOLDSMITH
SILVER-POINT DRAWING. BERLIN: ROYAL PRINT COLLECTION



OUR LADY AND CHILD. 1433

INCE HALL

1906. VOLL, 29.

A silver-point drawing (H. 0,21; B. 0,14) in the Print-Room of the Berlin Museum, which bears a slight resemblance to this portrait, is ascribed on insufficient grounds to John van Eyck. It formerly belonged to the poet Adolphus Hilarius; was in the collection of William Mayor (died 1874) and was acquired by the Museum at a sale in Munich, June 19, 1897, n°.244.

3. OUR LADY AND CHILD

Ince Hall, Ince Blundell, Liverpool. Oak. H.0, 225; B. 0,15.

The scene is laid in a room dimly lighted from the right by a window glazed with tiny lozenges and a border of red, white, blue, and white. In the centre the Virgin Mother enthroned with the Child on her knees, His lower limbs partly covered with the white linen cloth on which He is seated. With both hands He is turning over the leaves of an illuminated manuscript which His mother holds before Him with her left hand. She wears a full loose dress of blue material, with jewelled neckband and white fur trimming at the cuffs and the hem of the skirt, confined at the waist by a broad red belt studded with gold, and over all an ample crimson mantle, the folds of which spread over the ground on all sides. Her luxuriant light-brown hair, confined by a circlet of pearls with a jewel in the centre, falls over her shoulders in wavy tresses. A rich cloth of honour of green and gold brocade hangs from a red-fringed canopy high up above her head. On a table before the window stands a metal vase with crystal cover, while on the window-sill are a couple of oranges and a goblet half full of wine. A tall pricket chandelier with a taper and two sconce branches, and a white metal pot with

brass mountings, are placed on a low aumbry on the Virgin's left; in its lock is a key, to which three others are attached. A rich carpet spread beneath Mary's feet contrasts well with the sombre floor; to the left is a large brass pan. In the upper part of the background on the right, close to the cloth of honour, is the signature:

COPLETV̄ ĀNO D
 M̄CCCC XXX IIO
 P̄ IOHEM DE EYCK
 BRVGIS

and on the opposite side John's device, AAC
IXH
XAN
 appears here for the first time.

This picture is a marvellous example of John's talent both as regards finish of detail and vigorous treatment of colour. The Virgin's expression is pleasing and not without dignity; that of the Child, happy and playful. The disposal of the oranges and the metal and crystal vessels so as to catch the light from the foreshortened windows on the right, and the manner in which the master has concentrated his powers upon depicting every little detail as perfectly as possible, is nowhere more noticeable than in this, probably the first picture painted by him after settling in Bruges. Unfortunately, the panel is covered with a thick coat of varnish, and in addition is slightly warped, which has led to a general cracking of the surface.

Exhibited: London: Old Masters, Burlington House, 1884, n°.267; Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1892, n°.14; Guildhall, 1906, n°.3.

1854. WAAGEN, III, 249.

1857. CROWE, 338-341.

1860. SCHNAASE, VIII, 144.

1883. WEALE, 193-195.

1893. TSCHUDI, in *Repertorium*, XVI, 101, says the letters of the

signature are uncertainly drawn, and have probably been copied from the original frame.

1898. KAEMMERER, 58-60.

1899. SEECK, 70.

1900. VOLL, 8, 87-89, 131, declares the inscription to be a forgery, and the picture, which he had never seen, to date from the end of the fifteenth century!!

1901. BODE, 122, refutes Voll's assertions.

1904. DVOŘÁK, 195-196.

1905. FIERENS, 142.

1906. VOLL, 35.

1906. SIEBERT, 11.

1906. FRIEDLAENDER, in *Repertorium*, XXIX, 574, thinks the inscription has been copied from the original frame. He evidently had not remarked that the date is 1433, not 1432.

1907. DURAND, 62-63.

An old copy of this picture (Oak. H. 0,368; B. 0,277) was formerly in private hands at Messina, where it was bought by the Duke of Verdura for 50 ounces (£25); his collection was sold at Rome in April, 1894, when this panel was bought in at 1200 lire (£48); it now belongs to his daughter. The inscription, occupying a similar position, is identical with that on the Ince original. Another weaker copy is said to be in the Museum at Catania.

On the upper part of the back there is what appears to be a contemporary note that the panel was pledged on the 2nd of July, 1619, for 3 ounces 15, or 60 scudi,—“1619 a 2 Luglio questo quadro di Luciano Costa e stato in pegno per oz. 3—15 Scudi (?) 60.”

4. PORTRAIT OF A MAN

London: National Gallery, 222. Oak. H. 0,332; B. 0,261; within the frame, H. 0,26; B. 0,188.

Formerly in the collection of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, later in that of George Alan, Viscount Midleton of Peperharrow, died 1848. Purchased by the Trustees from Mr. H. Farrer, in 1851, for £315.

The bust of a man, apparently a well-to-do merchant of about sixty-five years of age. He is clad in a dark dress, the fur collar of which just covers the lower part of his face, but shows a little linen at the throat. His head-covering is a rich red scarf wound in a very artistic manner, its ends piled up at the top of the cranium. The closely shaven face, wearing a bright expression, is seen in three-quarters turned to the right, the eyes looking to the left. This, one of the best of John's portraits, is delicately painted in a reddish-brown tone, the modelling of the left cheek in shadow is most successful, its elevations and hollows, the pleats of the eyelids and at the root of the nose, and the veins and wrinkles of the forehead, being rendered with absolute faithfulness. The framework, which is original, is formed by four mitred pieces of molding glued to the face of the panel and secured by wooden pegs, and painted to imitate marble. The upper border bears the painter's motto: "Als ich can"; at the foot is his signature, with date: "Iohannes de Eyck me fecit anno 1433 21 Octobris."

1854. WAAGEN, I, 348.

1860. WAAGEN, 70.



PORTRAIT OF A MAN 1433

LONDON: NATIONAL GALLERY

1872. CROWE, 94, speaks of this portrait as being dated a few months earlier than the 'Léal Souvenir,' whereas it is more than a year subsequent.
1878. REISET, II, 8.
1883. WEALE, 63.
1887. CONWAY, 148.
1898. KAEMMERER, 62.
1899. SEECK, 70.
1900. VOLL, 8, in spite of the inscription, looks on this portrait as apocryphal and as a work of much later date. The inscription on the frame, he says, is not calligraphic, and although the man's head is turned to the right, his eyes are directed to the left; the head-dress too is anomalous and hastily arranged!
1901. BODE, 118, demonstrates the absurdity of Dr. Voll's contention.
1904. WEALE, 249.
1904. WITT, 122.
1905. DURAND, in *Les Arts Anciens*, I, 23-25, takes this to be a portrait of John van Eyck, by himself, when about 47 years of age.
1905. FIERENS, 146, esteems this one of John's best portraits. "Tout le génie de Jean est dans ce portrait."
1906. VOLL, 43-44. Drapery of head-dress very clumsy; cannot be of the fifteenth century.

5. PORTRAITS OF JOHN ARNOLFINI AND JOAN CENANI, HIS WIFE

London: National Gallery, 186. Oak. H. 0,845; B. 0,624.

Acquired after 1490 by Don Diego de Guevara, councillor in 1507 of Maximilian and the Archduke Charles, and major-domo of Joan, Queen of Castile. He added shutters to it, on the outer side of which were painted his arms and motto. Before 1516 he presented it to Margaret of Austria, Governess

of the Netherlands.¹ At her death, in 1530, it passed into the possession of Mary of Hungary, and it figures in the inventory of her property in 1556.² It was subsequently taken to Spain. In 1789 it was in the palace of Charles III., at Madrid. A little later it fell into the hands of General Belliard or one of the other French generals. In 1815 Major-General Hay, who had been wounded at the battle of Waterloo, found it in the apartments to which he was removed at Brussels. After his recovery he purchased and brought it to England; in 1842 it was acquired by the Gallery for the moderate sum of £730.

The picture represents a Flemish interior, a quadrangular room seen in perspective. In the centre stand a newly married couple. The man, apparently about thirty-five years of age,

¹ "Ung grant tableau qu'on appelle Hernoul le fin, avec sa femme dedens une chambre, qui fut donne a Madame par Don Diego, les armes duquel sont en la couverte du dit tableaul. Fait du paintre Iohannes." Inventaire des Peintures, etc., de Marguerite d'Autriche, dressé en 1516. Lille: Archives of the Department of the North, B 3507.

"Ung aultre tableau fort exquis qui se clot a deux feulletz, ou il y a paintz ung homme et une femme estantz desboutz, touchantz la main l'ung de l'aultre; fait de la main de Iohannes; les armes et devise de feu don Dieghe es dits deux feulletz; nomme le personnaige, Arnoult fin." Inventaire des peintures, etc., appartenans a madame Marguerite, d'Austriche, dressé en son palais de Malines le 9 Juillet, 1523. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Colbert.

² "85. Cargasele mas una tabla grande con dos puertas, con que se cerrava, y en ella un ombre e una muger, que se tomaban las manos, con un espejo, en que se muestran los dichos ombre e muger, y en las puertas las armas de don Diego de Guebara; hecha por Juanes de Hec, anno 1434, segun pareçe por el dicho ynbentario." Simancas: Royal Archives.



JOHN ARNOLFINI AND WIFE 1434

LONDON: NATIONAL GALLERY

is tall and slight, and has a grave and thoughtful countenance ; he holds his right hand raised in an impressive manner ; while the bride has laid hers in his left, stretched out towards her. He wears a close-fitting dress of two shades of black, the sleeves of which are fastened at the wrist with a red cord. Over this is a sleeveless tunic of claret-coloured velvet trimmed with sable fur, reaching to a little below the knees. Black hose and boots and a large Italian hat of plaited straw dyed black, complete his costume. A ring adorns the second finger of his right hand. The lady, some years younger than her husband, is attired in a loose light-green dress, trimmed and lined with white fur, and confined immediately below the breast by a rose-coloured cincture embroidered with gold. She has gathered up the front of her skirt into a mass of stiff folds, displaying a blue under-dress, the tight sleeves of which are edged at the wrist with gold lace. Her hair, confined in a caul of red network, is drawn back from off her forehead into two horns, over which is thrown a beautifully frilled kerchief of fine linen. A double string of pearls passes twice round her neck, and a couple of rings adorn the fourth finger of her left hand. At her feet in the foreground is a lively little griffin terrier painted with marvellous accuracy. From one of the beams of the ceiling in the middle of the room hangs a six-branched chandelier of brass, terminated by a lion's head with a ring in its mouth ; one of the candles is burning. On the right is an aumbry with a couple of oranges on it, a third lying on the sill of a window immediately above it. The upper part of this window is filled with pearl-white roundels ; the shutters of the lower portion, which is not glazed, are open, disclosing a cherry tree

in full blossom, and a glimpse of clear blue sky. On the left, at the further end of the room, is a bed furnished with a coverlet and hangings of rich crimson. By its head stands an armchair with upright back terminated by cresting and a figure of Saint Margaret triumphing over the dragon, from which a dusting-brush is suspended. On the bedside carpet, which is adorned with flowers and crosses, lie a dainty pair of red shoes, while on the floor, in the foreground to the right, are two pattens of white wood with black leather latchets. Along the further wall is a bench furnished with a crimson cover and a couple of cushions. Above the back, terminated at each end by a carved monster, hangs a circular convex mirror in a carved frame adorned with ten little medallions, in which are painted a series of miniatures, commencing at the foot with the Agony in the Garden of Olives, followed by the Betrayal, with Saint Peter cutting off Malchus's ear, Christ being led before Pilate, the Scourging at the pillar, the Carriage of the cross, Calvary, the Deposition, the Entombment, the Descent into Limbo, and the Resurrection. In the mirror are seen faithfully reflected, not only the two figures and that portion of the room comprised in the picture, but an oak portal beyond projecting into it, in which two persons are standing,—apparently John van Eyck, dressed in blue, and a youth in scarlet. On the wall above the mirror is written, in a highly ornate hand, "Iohannes de eyck fuit hic 1434." A string of amber beads with a green silk tassel at the end hanging from a peg to the right of the mirror is reflected on the grey tinted wall.

The colouring of this marvellous interior is full of vigour and blended with the utmost care. The flesh tints are



MIRROR AND SIGNATURE OF JOHN VAN EYCK, 1434
LONDON: NATIONAL GALLERY

admirable, and in their rendering show a remarkable transparency of shadow. The picture, in short, is an exquisite gem in the finest state of preservation save in one place, across the mirror. The back of the panel is painted on a chalk ground.

John Arnolfini settled in Bruges in 1420. Both he and his wife became members of the confraternity of Our Lady of the Dry Tree. They lived in the Coopers' Street, in a picturesque house, pulled down to make room for the present ugly theatre. There Arnolfini, who had been knighted by Duke Philip, and made one of his chamberlains, died on the 11th of September, 1472. He was buried at the Austin Friars', in the chapel of the Lucchese merchants, where he and his brother Michael had founded a Mass to be said daily for the repose of their souls. Joan, who survived her husband, was still living in 1490; she was eventually buried in the church of the Rich Clares.

1568. VAERNEWYCK, chap. xlvij, the earliest author who mentions this picture, says that Mary of Hungary saw it when in the possession of a barber, to whom she gave in exchange for it a place worth a hundred florins a year.

1604. C. VAN MANDER, 119, repeats this idle tale.

1847. CARTON, 309, misreads the inscription thus: JOHNINES DE EYCK, HIC. 1438, which, he says, has no sense, and makes him doubt the authenticity of the picture!!

1852. VIARDOT, *Les Musées d'Angleterre*, 29, Paris, describes the picture as a scene of chiromancy, and says that the man is trying to read in the lines of the lady's outstretched hand the future of the babe whose birth she is expecting!!

1854. WAAGEN, I, 348, repeats Vaernewyck's story, and considers the figures to be the portraits of John van Eyck and his wife.

1855. LABORDE, *La Renaissance des Arts à la Cour de France*, I,

601-604, Paris, gives a long description of the picture, the accuracy of which he secured by making use of a magnifying-glass. In spite of this, and of having had the glass that protects the painting removed, his is one of the most extraordinarily inaccurate descriptions of a work of art that has ever been penned, even by a French critic. He seems, at first sight of the picture, to have formed a theory as to the event it was intended to commemorate, and, labouring under a kind of hallucination, to have discovered all sorts of proofs of its correctness. He entitles the picture *La Légitimation*. The man, he says, is solemnly holding up his right hand to attest, in the presence of a crowd of neighbours (!) flocking in at the front door, that the child whose birth the lady is evidently (!) expecting is his, and that with the view of accentuating this fact Van Eyck surrounded the convex mirror with ten others of much smaller size, each reflecting the scene in exact perspective, varied according to its position, with a minuteness and fidelity which are most remarkable!!

1857. CROWE, 65-66, 85-86, and 345-346.

1860. WAAGEN, I, 70.

1861. WEALE, Notes, 22-28, refutes the misstatements of previous writers.

1863. RUELENS, xcv.

1872. CROWE, 94, 99-101.

1878. REISET, II, 5-9.

1879. SCHNAASE, 145.

1883. WEALE, 63-65.

1887. CONWAY, 149-151.

1887. JUSTI, Alt Flandrische Bilde in Spanien. In *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XXII, 179-180.

1891. LAURIE, 392.

1898. KAEMMERER, 66.

1899. SEECK, 70.

1900. VOLL, 8-16.

1903. F. WEALE, 20.

1904. WITT, 16-20.

1904. BOUCHOT, 238-240, questions the authenticity of the inscription, which he mistranslates, and says that the painting, described in



OUR LADY AND CHILD, SS DONATIAN AND GEORGE, AND CANON G. VAN DER PAELE, 1436

BRUGES TOWN GALLERY

the inventory of Margaret of Austria as a large picture, is probably still in Spain, and cannot be this! 'Large' and 'small' are relative terms, and this is correctly set down as 'large' by comparison with those preceding it in the inventory.

1904. KERN, 9, plate iv, shows that John had not completely mastered the laws of linear perspective when he designed this picture.

1904. DVOŘÁK, 181, remarks that this picture shows an observation of the modelling power of light and shade.

1905. FIERENS, 146-148.

1906. DOEHLEMANN, 13.

1906. VOLL, 29-31.

1906. PHILLIPS, in the *Burlington Magazine*, VIII, 304: "To match the peculiar pathos, the quiet intensity of this representation in art, one must go back . . . to that noble group in the Vatican, in which husband and wife, hand in hand, soul to soul, go on in perfect union . . . to eternity."

A curious imitation of this picture (Oak. H. 0,45; B. 0,24) signed *Godefridus Iohannis fecit anno 1581*, was in the possession of the late Rev. James Beck.

6. OUR LADY AND CHILD ENTHRONED, SAINT DONATIAN, SAINT GEORGE AND THE DONOR

Bruges: Town Gallery. Oak. H. 1,22; B. 1,57. The figures about two-thirds life-size.

Originally over the altar of Saints Peter and Paul in the collegiate church of Saint Donatian at Bruges;¹ removed to the sacristy before 1778; taken to Paris by the French in 1794;

¹ CROWE (1872, p. 108) and KAEMMERER (1898, p. 66) say that this picture was commissioned for the high altar of the church. It was not placed over the high altar until after 1578, when the silver-gilt reredos given by Margaret, Countess of Flanders and Artois, was broken up and melted.

brought back by the Allies in 1815, and deposited in the Gallery.

The scene is laid in a circular Romanesque building, or in the apse of the transept of a church, but not in that of Saint Donatian nor of any known Romanesque church.¹ The Blessed Virgin is seated on a throne beneath a canopy furnished with a handsome cloth of honour of woollen material with a rich pattern of foliage and flowers on a blue ground. The front principals of the throne are adorned with figures of Adam and Eve in niches, and surmounted by sculptured groups representing the death of Abel, and Samson tearing the lion in pieces. A beautiful carpet covers the steps of the throne and part of the pavement of blue-and-white Spanish—probably Valencian tiles.² The Virgin's robe of blue, cut square at the neck, is bordered with a jewelled band; over it she wears a large red mantle lined with olive green, and bordered with precious stones between two rows of small pearls. Her long crimped hair, confined by a jewelled circlet of gold, falls in undulating masses over her shoulders. With her right hand she supports the Divine Child seated nude on a fair linen cloth spread over her knee. With His right hand He is holding a parakeet, and with His left accepting a bunch of flowers from His mother. On the right stands Saint Donatian, seen in profile, vested in a

¹ See the illustrations in James ESSEX, *Journal of a Tour through part of Flanders in August, 1773*, edited by W. M. Fawcett, Cambridge, 1888, p. 13; and J. GAILLIARD, *Inscriptions funéraires de la Flandre Occidentale*, I, plate 2. Bruges, 1861.

² See J. FONT Y GUMA, *Rajolas Valencianas y Catalanas*. Villanova y Geltrù, 1905.

splendid cope of blue-and-gold velvet brocade, the orfreys of which are embroidered with figures of the Apostles in canopied compartments; a circular morse of gold set with precious stones keeps the cope from slipping from the shoulders. A richly jewelled cloth-of-gold mitre, and gloves over which he wears several rings, complete his costume. With his right hand he supports the emblem which characterizes him—a wheel with axle and spokes complete, on the rim of which stand in a circle five lighted candles. With his left he holds with its veil an archiepiscopal cross, a splendid specimen of goldsmith's work.

To the left, opposite Saint Donatian, the donor, Canon George Van der Paele, is represented kneeling under the protection of his name-saint. He is vested in a red cassock and large-sleeved surplice, with an almuce of grey fur thrown over his left arm. In his right hand he holds a double eyeglass, and with his left supports open before him his breviary with its forel of sow-skin. Saint George stands behind him clad in a complete suit of armour, with the word ADONAI inscribed across his gorget. A lance with pennon, bearing *Argent* a cross *gules*, rests against his left shoulder. He raises his helmet to salute the Divine Infant as he presents his client.

The apse is formed by a series of round arches supported by cylindrical columns,¹ the capitals of which are carved with interlaced foliage and animals, while those of the pillars on the further side of the ambulatory are storied; the windows between the latter are filled with roundels. Realism prevails throughout this picture, which, with the exception of the

¹ Eight are seen; a ninth is hidden by the dorsal of the Virgin's throne.

Ypres altar-piece (11), is the largest work by the master. The most pleasing figure is that of Saint Donatian, a dignified court prelate, with a noble head of intellectual type; but even here we have not the slightest attempt at idealization. The Virgin Mother is represented as a woman of about thirty, utterly lacking in refinement; while the Child, a puny infant, short and attenuated, and curiously aged, is apparently frightened at the sight of Saint George, an awkward conscript, who is doffing his helmet with a trivial expression utterly devoid of religious feeling. The portrait of the canon is that of a man of marked individuality, but obviously infirm. He had been installed in his canonry on the 20th of August, 1410, and had for many years been in constant residence at Saint Donatian's, where he founded two choral chaplaincies, one on the 13th of September, 1434, the other on the 8th of May, 1441. He also presented the church with some relics of Saint Christopher and Saint Ursula in a reliquary of silver gilt with a cylindrical turret of rock crystal, adorned with his arms and surmounted by a figure of Saint George and a crucifix.¹ He died at an advanced age on the 25th of August, 1443, having been very infirm during the last ten years of his life. He was buried in the grave of his brother, Canon Jodoc, in the nave on the north side of the altar of Saints Peter and Paul, between the tomb of his uncle, Jodoc Van der Paele, also a canon, and that of Margaret, Countess of Flanders. His grave was covered with a slab of blue stone adorned with his effigy in sacerdotal vestments within a border inscribed: "Hic iacet dominus Georgius de Pala canonicus huius ecclesie qui obiit anno Domini

¹ See the documents printed in *Le Beffroi*, II, 28-29. Bruges, 1864.

M cccc xliij," with the evangelistic animals and his and his mother's arms.

The altar-piece still retains its original frame, with the following legends in capital letters :

At the top : "Hec est speciosior sole + super omnem stellarum dispositionem luci comparata invenitur prior : candor est enim lucis eterne + speculum sine macula Dei maiestatis."¹

HEC E SPECIOSIOR SOLE + SVP OËM STELLARV DISPOSITOËM

LUCI GPATIA IVEITVR POR. CÂDOR E ENÏ LVLIS ETERNE + SPEÏLM SÏN

MÂÏLA DÏ MÂIES.

• SCS DONATIANVS ARCHIEPÏ •

• SCS GEORGIVS MILES XPI •

SOLO PTV NON FÏRM. MERS VIV REDDIT + RENAT AREHOSPÏRM.

REMIS CONSTITVITVR. QVI NÏL DEO FRVITVR.

NATVS CAPADOLIA. XPO MILITAVIT. MVNDI FVGES OÏA.

CESVS TRIVMPHAVIT. HIL DRALONEM STRAVIT.

Hec op' fuit fieri magr georgi de pala hui' eccl'ie canon' p iohannē

de rork pictorē. Et finivit hic duas capellas de quo rym domini. gō.

m. cccc. xliij. 9 pl aū. 1536.

¹ The little chapter at Lauds on the feast of the Assumption, in the Breviary according to the use of the church of Saint Donatian.

On the right side:

“ Solo partu nonus fratrum
mersus vivus redditur +
renatus archos patrum
Remis constituitur :
qui nunc Deo fruitur ” ;¹

and on the chamfer: “ Sanctus Donacianus archiepiscopus.”

On the left side:

“ Natus Capadocia :
Christo militavit :
mundi fugiens oia :
cesus triumphavit :
hic draconem stravit ” ;

and on the chamfer: “ Sanctus Georgius miles Christi.”

At the foot, in minuscules: “ Hoc opus fecit fieri magister Georgius de Pala huius ecclesie canonicus per Iohannem de Eyck pictorem: Et fundavit hic duas capellanas de gremio chori Domini M^o.cccc^o.xxxiiij^o: completum anno 1436^o. At each angle is an escutcheon, those at the upper right and lower left angles bear, *Sable*, two peels in saltire *or* between four loaves *argent*, Van der Paele; and those at the upper left and lower right angles *Argent*, on three chevrons *azure*, twelve fleurs-de-lys 5, 5 and 2 *or*, within a bordure engrailed *gules*, Carlyns.²

The picture has been damaged by cleaning and clumsy

¹ Compare the third and fourth Lessons at Matins on the feast of Saint Donatian, in the same Breviary.

² The arms of his mother, in their usual place. Kaemmerer's statement, that the Carlyns family contributed to the cost of the painting, is without foundation.

retouches; the drapery of the Virgin's dress is partially destroyed; the Child's right foot has also suffered; the white shame-cloth about his loins is a late addition; and the whole is covered with a thick cloudy varnish. The background is well preserved.

1769. DESCAMPS, 274, describes the picture thus: "L'Adoration des Rois (!!); les têtes sont avec peu ou point de sécheresse, surtout celle de l'évêque S. Donas dans la manière de Gérard Douw."

1798. Sir Joshua REYNOLDS, in his 'Journey to Flanders in 1781' (Works, II, 1798) says: "The figure of the canon has great character of nature, and is very minutely painted."

1833. PASSAVANT, 349-351.

1834. SCHNAASE, 343.

1842. BURCKHARDT, 157-158.

1847. MONTAIGLON, 5-7.

1858. HOTH0, II, 184-187.

1860. WAAGEN, I, 71.

1861. WEALE, Catalogue, 12-17.

1863. RUELENS, xxxii: "La figure de la Vierge est vulgaire et réaliste . . . cette infériorité pourrait bien, en partie du moins, avoir pour cause de maladroites retouches."

1866. MICHIELS, II, 287-291.

1872. CROWE, 108-109: "A curious instance of the painter's occasional descent to a lower level of treatment than that observable in the common run of the works of the time. . . . The colour is not handled with the painter's habitual breadth, and traces of manipulation obtrude in all parts. The figures are drawn with less than usual ability; most of the faces are insipid in expression, and the hands are stiff and long; tints no longer melt into each other, and the colour, instead of being rich and giving to the flesh a plump and pleasant aspect, has a hard and red appearance. The form of the Virgin is the most displeasing of any that Van Eyck ever painted, and the Child exhibits the usual peculiarities of shortness and thinness, with features in which the master, seeking to express

the Holy Spirit (!), only succeeded in depicting age, incompatible with the smallness of the Infant's size and the feebleness of its proportions. St. Donatian is the most remarkable of the persons in the composition; his pious and noble head rivets the spectator's attention, and keeps it from the overloaded ornaments of a splendid cope and stole; but the figure of St. George is trivial and awkward."

1876. FROMENTIN, 427-430: "Par la mise en scène, le style et le caractère de la forme, de la couleur et du travail, il rappelle la *Vierge au donateur* (the Rolin altar-piece) au Louvre. Il n'est pas plus précieux dans le fini, pas plus finement observé dans le détail. Le clair-obscur ingénu qui baigne la petite composition du Louvre, cette vérité parfaite et cette idéalisation de toutes choses obtenue par le soin de la main, la beauté du travail, la transparence inimitable de la matière; ce mélange d'observation méticuleuse et de rêveries poursuivies à travers des demi-teintes,—ce sont là des qualités supérieures que le tableau de Bruges atteint et ne dépasse pas. Mais ici tout est plus large, plus mûr, plus grandement conçu, construit et peint. Et l'œuvre en devient plus magistrale en ce qu'elle entre en plein dans les visées de l'art moderne. . . . La Vierge est laide. L'enfant, un nourrisson rachitique à cheveux rares, copié sans altération sur un pauvre petit modèle mal nourri. . . . Saint George, un beau jeune homme, une sorte d'androgyné dans une armure damasquinée, soulève son casque, salue l'Enfant Dieu d'un air étrange et lui sourit. Mantegna . . . ne l'aurait jamais peint ni coloré comme cela. . . . Le chanoine est incontestablement le plus fort morceau du tableau. . . . C'est un vieillard. Il est chauve; de petits poils follets jouent sur ses tempes, dont l'os est visible et dur sous la peau mince. Le masque est épais, les yeux sont bridés, les muscles réduits, durcis, couturés, crevassés par l'âge. Ce gros visage flasque et rugueux est une merveille de dessin physiognomique et de peinture. . . . La tonalité du tableau est grave, sourde et riche, extraordinairement harmonieuse et forte. La couleur y ruisselle à pleins bords. Elle est entière, mais très savamment composée, et reliée plus savamment encore par des valeurs subtiles. En vérité, quand on s'y concentre, c'est une peinture qui fait oublier tout ce qui n'est pas



OUR LADY AND CHILD, S.S. DONATIAN AND GEORGE, AND CANON G. VAN DER PAELE
ANTWERP: MUSEUM

elle et donnerait à penser que l'art de peindre a dit son dernier mot, et cela dès la première heure."

- 1878. WEALE, Bruges et ses environs, 4^e. édition 51-56.
- 1879. SCHNAASE, 146.
- 1887. CONWAY, 141-142, 153.
- 1898. KAEMMERER, 66-68.
- 1899. SEECK, 70.
- 1900. VOLL, Ueber das kunsthistorische Studium. In *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, 19 Mai, 2. München.
- 1900. VOLL, Werke des Jan van Eyck, 16-22.
- 1902. JORISSENNE, in *Compte rendu du Congrès de Bruges*, 11-13.
- 1902. HULIN, 10. This picture has furnished the formula for the composition of a number of paintings by masters working at Bruges.
- 1903. FRIEDLAENDER, 2. Of all John's works this had the greatest influence on the development of painting at Bruges.
- 1903. DE MONT, 60. The figures of Saint George and the Blessed Virgin are vulgar, commonplace, and almost ugly.
- 1904. BOUCHOT, 221, says that this picture differs greatly from those by John van Eyck, and that the inscription on the frame has been effaced, repainted, and the dates added!!
- 1904. KERN, 10-12, plate v, and 1 cut.
- 1905. DVOŘÁK, 181, 193.
- 1905. FIERENS, 155-158, has nothing but praise for this painting, including even the figures of the Virgin and Child and Saint George.
- 1905. DOEHLEMANN, 11-13; and 423.
- 1906. VOLL, 31-33.
- 1906. SIEBERT, 6-7.
- 1907. VOLL, *Vergleichende Gemäldestudien*, München, 58-67. A careful comparison of the copy in the Antwerp Gallery with this. The many little discrepancies are pointed out and shown to prove that the Antwerp panel must belong to a date when the Eyckian methods were on the wane.

In the Van Ertborn Collection at the Antwerp Museum is a careful, fairly close copy of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century (H. 1,20; B. 1,54), which has been transferred from

panel to canvas. It was formerly in the church at Watervliet (East Flanders). A copy of the Virgin and Child with the canon was in 1852 in the Quedeville Collection. The Virgin and Child reappear on a small panel in the collection of the Earl of Northbrook, the original frame of which is said to have borne the date 1437.

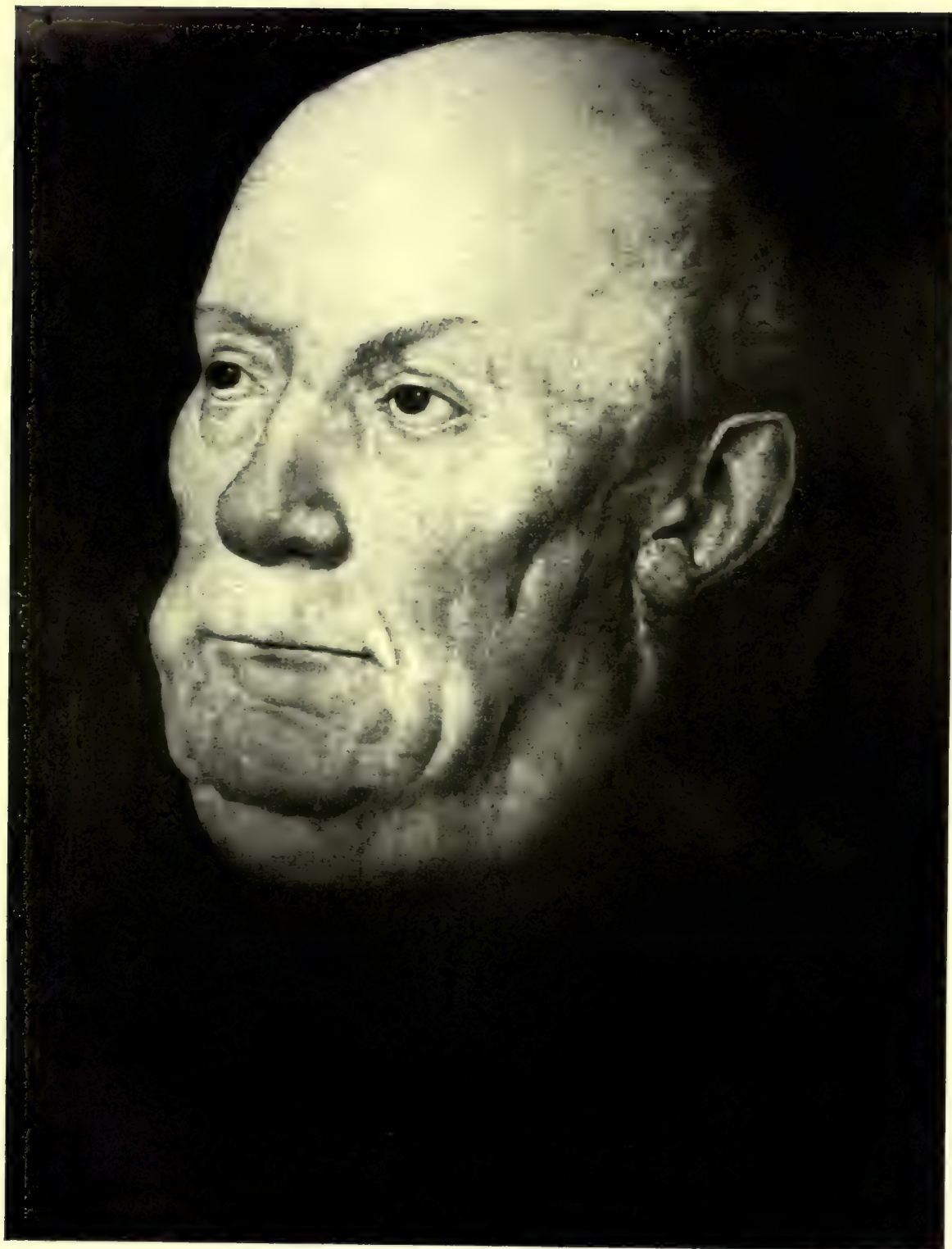
A life-size bust portrait of the canon is preserved at Hampton Court Palace, 453 (272). Canvas. H. 0,42; B. 0,40. It was formerly in the collection of King James II., in whose catalogue (n^o.39) it is described as "a fat man's head, bald, with a double chin." This is most certainly an original study from life, not a copy of the portrait in the altar-piece. The canon is here portrayed in a greenish-brown cassock trimmed with brown fur. Bluish-black background. At the time when John van Eyck was commissioned to paint the altar-piece the canon had become so feeble that the Chapter dispensed him from attendance in choir.¹ No doubt he felt unequal to support the fatigue of a long sitting to the painter, but as he had been in constant residence ever since Van Eyck had settled in Bruges, the latter must have seen him frequently enough to be able with the aid of this study to give a satisfactory presentation of the head in the altar-piece.

1885. C. JUSTI, in *The Academy*, 20 June, p. 445: "Painted in a reddish-yellow mezzo-tinto, quite monochromous, very firm in design and modelling, showing Van Eyck's grandeur and broadness in conception and treatment of a countenance before proceeding

¹ 1434, 9 Septembris, "Indulserunt domini quod attenta infirmitate et senectute suis, inscribatur ad omnia lucra, sive veniat ad ecclesiam, sive non." Acta Capituli IV, fol. 218 v^o. Bruges: Episcopal Archives.



S. GEORGE AND CHARLES THE RASH BY G. LOYET, 1171
LUGO: CATHEDRAL.



GEORGE VAN DER PAELE, CANON OF S. DONATIAN, BRUGES
HAMPTON COURT PALACE

to the superposition of microscopic details, of local colour, of light and shadow."

1886. K. CHYTIL, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XXI, 146-148.

1898. KAEMMERER, 68. A later superficial copy of the portrait in the Bruges altar-piece.

1900. VOLL, 126. A work dating from the end of the sixteenth century. The technique exhibits none of John's peculiarities; the modelling is weaker and flatter. Nevertheless, the first impression of its truthfulness to life is overpowering. The original must have been Van Eyck's grandest portrait. Kaemmerer's idea that it is a copy from the Bruges picture is not to be thought of.

1905. FIERENS, 158, had evidently never seen this picture, as he refers to it as the head of the Blessed Virgin in the Paele altar-piece, and says it is only a copy.

The head of the canon reappears in the Mass of Saint Gregory in the Prado Gallery at Madrid (n°.1864), attributed to Adrian Isenbrant. The type of the Virgin is reproduced on an early sixteenth-century diptych in the Bartels Collection at Cassel, also on an altar-piece, c.1515, at Ince Hall, exhibited at the Guildhall, 1906, n°.60, and in a somewhat later picture exhibited by the late Mr. J. Fletcher Moulton at the New Gallery in 1899, n°.82.

The figure of Saint Louis of Toulouse presenting a donor, in an early sixteenth-century picture in the Museum at Avignon (exhibited at Paris, 1904, n°.85), bears in pose and gesture a curious resemblance to the Saint George here, which certainly influenced the unknown painter. The pose and several details of the gold statuette of Saint George, executed by Gerard Loyet of Bruges, 1466-1471, for Charles the Rash, and by him presented to the cathedral of Liège, betray the same influence.

7. PORTRAIT OF JOHN DE LEEUW, GOLDSMITH

Vienna: Imperial Gallery, 825. Oak. H. 0,33; B. 0,28.
Head, 0,10.

First mentioned in Mechel's catalogue of the Belvedere Collection, 1783, p. 157, n°.28. Taken to Paris by the French in 1809; brought back by the Allies in 1815.

Half-length portrait about half life-size, of a man of thirty-five years of age, on a dark-green background; the face beardless, seen in three-quarters turned to the right, with small deep-set grey eyes looking straight at the spectator, short nose, fine upper lip, and a long chin. The broad forehead and keen glance of the eyes convey the impression of a highly intelligent man with an energetic will. He wears a dark fur-trimmed gown and a black cap; his hands are placed before his waist; between the thumb and forefinger of his right hand he holds a ring, as if showing it. The head is modelled with John's usual care, but the beauty of the face is somewhat marred by the same unpleasant reddish flesh tint that characterizes the figures in the Bruges altar-piece, painted about the same time; the hands too are rather weak, as if hurriedly drawn. The frame, which is original, bears the following inscription:

IAN DE (a lion sejant on a square base with a step) OP SANT
ORSELEN DACH

DAT CLAER ERST MET OGHEN SACH. 1401.

GHECONTERFEIT NV HEEFT MI IAN

VAN EYCK WEL BLIJCT WANNERT BEGAN. 1436.



JOHN DE LEEUW, GOLDSMITH. 1436

VIENNA: IMPERIAL GALLERY

From a photograph by F. Bruckmann.

John De Leeuw, the person here portrayed, was a wealthy craftsman, born October 21, 1401, who, after holding minor offices in the Gild of Gold- and Silver-smiths of Bruges in 1430-31 and 1435-36, was chosen dean in 1441. The lion sejant is the mark he used for stamping his works, and here stands for his name, which, if written, would have added 65 to the first chronogram. An interesting entry in the accounts of the treasurers of the town informs us that when Duke Philip, after a long absence in Germany, returned to Bruges in 1455, the inhabitants decorated the fronts of their houses, and that the town council awarded prizes to those whose houses were decorated and illuminated with the greatest taste; these prizes were supplied by De Leeuw, who was paid 36s. gr. for them.

The date of De Leeuw's death is not known; his name occurs for the last time in the accounts of the treasurer of the town of Damme for the year 1459.

The picture has suffered by cleaning, and, doubtless owing to the colour having less intensity and charm than usual, it has received but scant notice from writers on the master's works.

1858. HOTH0, II, 187, says that the ring in De Leeuw's hand is probably a wedding-ring.

1860. WAAGEN, 71, unusually grey in the shadows.

1882. WOLTMANN, II, 19, and 1891, REBER, 107, call De Leeuw a canon!!

1884. ENGERTH, II, 135.

1898. KAEMMERER, 73, says that De Leeuw had this portrait painted to present to his bride. This is fancy: he had been married some years, and had at least two children.

1899. SEECK, 28, 70. The hands are weak; the little finger of the right hand crooked, like a claw. Calls the ring a betrothal ring.

1900. VOLL, 97-100, blind to the strong impression of individuality so thoroughly evidencing John's hand, devotes four pages to throwing doubt on the authenticity of this work on two grounds: because, though the head is turned to the right, the eyes look to the left; and because the second chronogram is faulty, his contention being that the *ij* in 'blijct' and the *v* in 'Eyck' must each be reckoned as equivalent to 1 or else to 2, which is absurd; no educated Netherlander would ever think of writing 'Eijck.' His conclusion is that the portrait is either a forgery or a copy dating from the end of the fifteenth century, forgetting apparently that this amounts to an admission of the groundlessness of his chief argument for the rejection of the authenticity of this portrait.

1901. BODE, 118-119, refutes Voll's arguments.

1904. WEALE, v, 192.

1905. FIERENS, 150.

1906. VOLL, 43-44 and 263-264.

8. SAINT BARBARA

Antwerp: Museum: Van Ertborn Collection. Oak.

H. 0,322; B. 0,186.

This picture became the property of M. Joz. Enschedé of Harlem on June 24, 1769, and was sold by him in 1786 to a dealer, P. Yver, and by the latter to Ploes van Amstel. After his death it was sold at Amsterdam, March 5, 1800, for 35 florins 18 sols to M. Oyen, from whose widow it was purchased in 1826 by M. F. van Ertborn, and by him bequeathed to the Antwerp Museum.

Saint Barbara, seated in a meditative mood on a hillock in the foreground, is turning over the leaves of a book which rests on her knees. In her left hand she holds a palm. Her



SAINT BARBARA 1437

ANTWERP: MUSEUM

From a photograph by C. Hermans

ample wide-sleeved dress, open in front with a large turned-down collar, is confined at the waist by a plain cincture; its long skirt covers the ground around her in broken folds. Her hair, confined by a plain riband, falls on her back; a jewel is suspended to the string of pearls which encircles her neck. In the mid-distance a beautiful octagonal tower¹ is in course of construction; on its summit four masons are working; a fifth, near the crane by which a carved stone is being hauled up, stands looking down at the master-mason, who is giving him directions. Near him beneath a shed are sculptors at work, while labourers around are busily employed mixing mortar and bringing them materials, two with a bier and one with a barrow;—an interesting picture, showing how building operations were carried on in the fifteenth century. Behind the saint four women are passing to the right, where a group of men are conversing; further away are buildings with a fortified wall. Four men on horseback are coming in single file down a winding road, beyond which are a wood and a picturesque mountain covered to its summit with buildings. To the left is rising ground with fields, trees, and water; high up in the air is seen a flight of wild geese. The sky is coloured, the rest of the picture merely drawn, but with the greatest care and minuteness. At the foot, in capital letters, “Iohannes de Eyck me fecit, 1437.”

Facsimile engraving by Cornelius van Noorden, 1769. Copies in the Museums at Bruges and Lille; mistaken by

¹ This does not represent the tower of a church dedicated to Saint Barbara, as stated by a writer in the *Messenger des Sciences* (Ghent, 1839, p. 57), but is simply the emblem characterizing this saint. Ignorance of this has led some to describe the picture as Saint Agnes.

De Montaignon and Voll for drawings, though their real character was pointed out by Schnaase in 1834.

- 1857. CROWE, 88.
- 1858. HOTH, II, 191.
- 1860. WAAGEN, I, 71.
- 1866. MICHIELS, II, 314.
- 1879. SCHNAASE, 147.
- 1884. HYMANS, in the commentaries appended to his translation of Van Mander's "Book of Painters," p. 40, identifies this Saint Barbara with a panel representing a woman in the foreground of a landscape, in the possession of Luke De Heere, described by Van Mander as only a preparation for a painting, but exceedingly pretty.
- 1887. CONWAY, 142-144.
- 1898. KAEMMERER, 74-76.
- 1899. SEECK, 20, 70.
- 1900. VOLL, 23-26.
- 1902. ROOSES, in *Onze Kunst*, I, 5-6.
- 1903. SCHUBERT, 38-42, is of opinion that in this work the Eyckian landscape attained its highest perfection!
- 1904. DVOŘÁK, 185.
- 1905. FIERENS, 159.

9. OUR LADY AND CHILD BY A FOUNTAIN

Antwerp: Museum: Van Ertborn Collection, 411. Oak.

H. 0,19; B. 0,122.

This picture was in the possession of Margaret of Austria, Governess of the Netherlands. In the inventory of her collection in 1516, it is described as "Une petite Nostre Dame, faite de bonne main, estant en un jardin ou il y a une fontaine;"¹ but, more fully, in that drawn up in her palace

¹ "Inventaire des Peintures, etc., de Marguerite d'Autriche, dressé en 1516." Lille: Archives of the Department of the North, B 3507.



OUR LADY AND CHILD BY A FOUNTAIN, 1439

ANTWERP: MUSEUM

From a collection of the Antwerp Museum

at Mechlin, on July 9, 1523, as "Ung aultre petit tableau de Nostre Dame tenant son enfant, lequel tient une petite pate-nostre de coral en sa main, fort anticque, ayant une fontaine empres elle et deux anges tenant ung drapt d'or figure derriere elle."¹ Margaret subsequently gave it to her treasurer-general, John van Marnix.

In 1830 it was in the possession of the parish priest of Dickelvenne (East Flanders), from whom it was purchased by M. F. van Ertborn, and by him bequeathed to the Antwerp Museum.

Our Lady stands on a grass plot in the open air, tenderly pressing the Infant Jesus to her breast with both hands. The Child with His right hand embraces her affectionately, and with His left stretched out behind Him holds a tasselled chaplet of red coral beads. Two angels with peacock wings, in flowing albs, one vermillion, the other violet, hold up a cloth of honour of red and gold brocaded damask, the end of which covers the ground on which the Virgin stands. She is draped in an ample blue mantle, which falls about her feet in rather stiff folds. Her light-brown hair, parted in the middle and confined by a narrow band of pearls, is drawn back behind the ear, making the forehead and temples appear unusually large. On the right, in the immediate front, stands a metal fountain with a circular basin, into which water of crystalline purity falls from four jets. In the background we see on each side of the suspended cloth a low bank faced

¹ "Inventaire des Peintures, etc., de Marguerite d'Autriche, dressé en son palais de Malines, le 9 Juillet, 1523." Paris: National Library, Colbert Collection. In the margin: "Donné par ordonnance de ma ditte dame à son trésorier général, Jehan de Marnix."

with masonry, and covered with fine grass and flowering plants: daisies, violets, lilies of the valley, yellow water-flags, and a thick hedge of purple roses and lilies. The frame, painted to imitate reddish-grey marble with white veins, bears the following inscription in capital letters: "Als ich can. Iohannes de Eyck me fecit + complevit anno 1439°." The picture is in perfect preservation save for a small patch on the Child's head.

1857. CROWE, 90.

1858. HOTH0, II, 197.

1866. MICHIELS, II, 315.

1898. KAEMMERER, 106.

1899. SEECK, 35-37, 70.

1900. VOLL, 30-34.

1905. FIERENS, 163, rightly notes that this picture has a character quite exceptional in the series of John van Eyck's works. He thinks it was based on the Madonna by Stephen Lochner, in the Diocesan Museum at Coeln, which he dates c.1435; but that painting is certainly of later date.

1906. SIEBERT, 13.

A beautiful copy of this picture adorns a Flemish Book of Hours formerly in the possession of Mr. Edwin H. Laurence, of Abbey Farm Lodge, Hampstead; and an early pen drawing of it on paper is preserved in the Print Room of the Frederick William Museum, Berlin, 7120 (1878).

The Berlin Gallery and the Metropolitan Museum at New York possess paintings with figures of the Madonna closely resembling this.¹

¹ See nos. 29 and 31, pp. 155 and 158.



OUR LADY AND CHILD BY A FOUNTAIN.
PEN DRAWING. BERLIN: ROYAL PRINT COLLECTION



MARGARET VAN EYCK 1439

BRUGES: TOWN GALLERY

By permission of A.Dalet

10. PORTRAIT OF MARGARET VAN EYCK

Bruges: Town Gallery. Oak. H. 0,32; B. 0,26.

Formerly in the possession of the Bruges Gild of Painters and Saddlers, and exposed in their chapel annually on Saint Luke's Day, at other times kept in their archives. Owing to the existence of a heavy mortgage on the property of the gild, it escaped being taken to Paris in 1794. Later it was found in the fish-market by Mr. Peter van Lede who, in 1808, presented it to the town.

Half-length portrait, the face turned to the right seen in three-quarters. The lady, attired in her best, wears a loose-sleeved gown of scarlet cloth trimmed with grey fur, girt under the breasts with a sash of green silk woven in chevrons. A crespine head-dress, over which is a white linen kerchief with a ruche of the same material, completes her costume. Her hands are superposed before her, displaying her wedding-ring on the fourth finger of the right hand. Though painted with great minuteness, and marvellous delicacy and finish, the effect of this evidently perfect likeness is the same whether viewed closely or from a distance. John has not flattered his wife, but has portrayed her with the insight born of intimate acquaintance. Her features are not attractive, and her head-dress does not improve her appearance; but she was evidently an intelligent woman, and a competent housewife, with a clear steady eye and a firm mouth, showing that she had a will of her own. The frame, painted to imitate marble, bears the following inscription in capital letters: at the head,

"Coniux meus Iohannes me complevit anno 1439° 17 Iunii;"

CŌIVX M̄S IOHĒSME 9PLEVIT ĀNO·1439°
17·IVNIJ·

ETAS MEA TRIGINTA TRIŪ ĀNORŪ· M̄L·IXH·XAN·

at the foot, "Etas mea triginta trium annorum. Als ich can."
The reverse of the panel is painted in imitation of porphyry.

Lithograph by A. Toupey, 1907 (H. o,216; B. o,168).

1769. DESCAMPS, 306, says that this portrait was exhibited annually on St. Luke's Day in the chapel of the Painters' Guild, but fastened with a chain and padlock, as the companion painting, John van Eyck's own portrait, had been stolen. Every attempt has been made to verify the truth of this statement, which appears to be a fiction.

1834. SCHNAASE, 345.

1857. CROWE, 89-90. The hand is, perhaps, the most complete and perfect John van Eyck ever executed.

1858. HOTH0, II, 199-200.

1861. WEALE, Catalogue, 17-18.

1866. MICHIELS, II, 211-213.

1887. CONWAY, 110-111.

1898. KAEMMERER, 102-104.

1899. SEECK, 27-28, 30.

1900. VOLL, 26-30.

1902. GUIFFREY, 472: "Le morceau de reception de van Eyck dans la Corporation!!" A nonsensical statement. Van Eyck was not a member of the gild, and the custom of presenting a diploma work was non-existent.

1905. FIERENS, 165.

1906. VOLL, 34, 35.



TRIPTYCH OF N. VAN MAELBEKE, PROVOST OF S. MARTIN'S YPRES, 1441
 EXTERIOR: KESSEL-LOO: M. G. HELLEPUTTE

II. OUR LADY AND CHILD, AND THE DONOR

Kessel-Loo: M. G. Helleputte. Oak. Triptych: centre, arched top. H. 1,72; B. centre, 0,99; shutters, 0,41.

The scene is laid in a vaulted portico of Romanesque architecture, the columns of which are richly sculptured with birds, monsters, and interlaced work. In the foreground on the left stands the Blessed Virgin with the Divine Child on her right arm, and with her left hand tenderly supporting His legs. Her long hair, parted down the middle and confined by a jewelled circlet of gold, is drawn back behind the ears and falls on her shoulders in undulating masses. Posed in a very graceful and dignified attitude, she is enveloped in an ample mantle of crimson cloth, which, kept in place by two tasselled cords, falls over her feet and on to the pavement behind her; its embroidered border, adorned with pearls and precious stones, bears at the foot, where it becomes much broader, a verse from the twenty-fourth chapter of Ecclesiasticus: "Ante SECVLA creata sum et usque ad futurum seculum non desinam et IN habitatione sancta CORAM IPSO MINISTRARI ET SIC IN SION FIRMATA sum." The Child, quite nude, clutches the embroidered neck-band of His mother's dress, and with a gracious inclination of His head extends His right hand towards a priest who kneels before Him praying from an open book in his right hand. On a fluttering scroll, one end of which the Child holds, are the words, "*Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde iugum enim meum suave est et onus meum leve.*" The priest, a provost of

Saint Martin's at Ypres, is vested in a rochet and a cope of blue and gold brocade, the orfrees of which are embroidered with figures of the Apostles beneath canopies. A circular morse of gold with three statuettes beneath a triple canopy keeps the cope in position. With his left hand the provost grasps the emblem of his office, a staff adorned with a diaper of fleurs-de-lys within lozenges surmounted by statuettes of saints in tabernacles, and crowned by a large crescent encircling a group representing the charity of Saint Martin. The pavement of the portico is composed of stones of various colours arranged in a geometrical pattern. The background, seen over the parapet of the portico, is a far-receding landscape traversed from right to left by a river enlivened by boats, swans, etc. The ground on the near side is covered with vegetation and a variety of flowers; here to the right and close to the river-bank is an hostelry with figures; while on the left is a man on horseback. Across the river and to the right is a castle flanked at the angles by square towers; while on the left are several houses, and the quay, on which we see a number of persons on horseback and on foot near a road that winds across a hilly country dotted over with numerous buildings and figures, and stretching far away to distant mountains. Every detail of this landscape is treated with marvellous care and finish. On the frame, inscribed in capital letters, is the antiphon: "*Sancta Maria succurre miseris iuva pusillanimes: refove flebiles: ora pro populo: interveni pro clero: intercede pro devoto femineo sexu: sentiant omnes tuum iuvamen quicumque celebrant tuam commemorationem. Hec virgo Maria ex semine Abrahe orta: ex tribu Iuda: virga de radice*



OUR LADY AND CHILD AND NICHOLAS VAN MAELBEKE, 1441
KESSEL-LOO: M. G. HELLEPUTTE

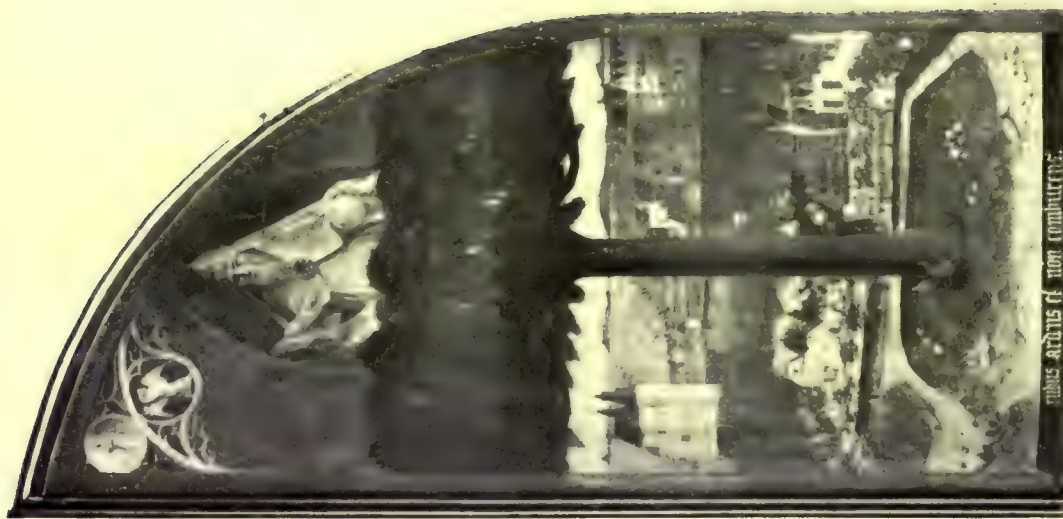
Iesse:ex stirpe David:filia Iherusalem:stella maris:ancilla Domini:regina gentium:sponsa Dei:mater Christi:Conditoris templum:Sancti Spiritus sacrarium."

The shutters are divided both on the inner and outer side into two zones. In the lower half of the dexter shutter, Gedeon, clad in a suit of steel armour, stands on a rocky hill, holding with both hands a lance. He has bared his head in presence of the angel who stands beneath an oak tree on the right and is addressing him; on the frame below is the legend "vellus gedeonis." The burning bush is figured in the upper zone as a tall smooth-trunked tree, the branches of which fill the entire breadth of the panel with a dense mass of foliage. A half-length figure of the Eternal within an aureole appears surrounded by tongues of fire springing from the foliage. He is crowned with a tiara, and vested in an alb and a cope of cloth of gold fastened by an oval morse adorned with a ruby surrounded by nine pearls. His right hand raised in the act of blessing, He holds in His left an orb with a slender crystal cross terminated by gold fleurs-de-lys. At the foot of the tree is a plot of grass and flowers, bordered by a path and a bed with a row of shrubs, beyond which is a moat with ducks and swans. On the further side are houses and gardens, an inn, a large pond with a variety of waterfowl, and a turreted castle with a man on a ladder repairing the roof. Away across the pond are numerous buildings with figures in the open spaces between them, and beyond these a forest stretches away to mountains in the distance. On the molding separating these two zones is the legend, "rubus ardens et non comburens."

In the lower half of the corresponding sinister shutter,

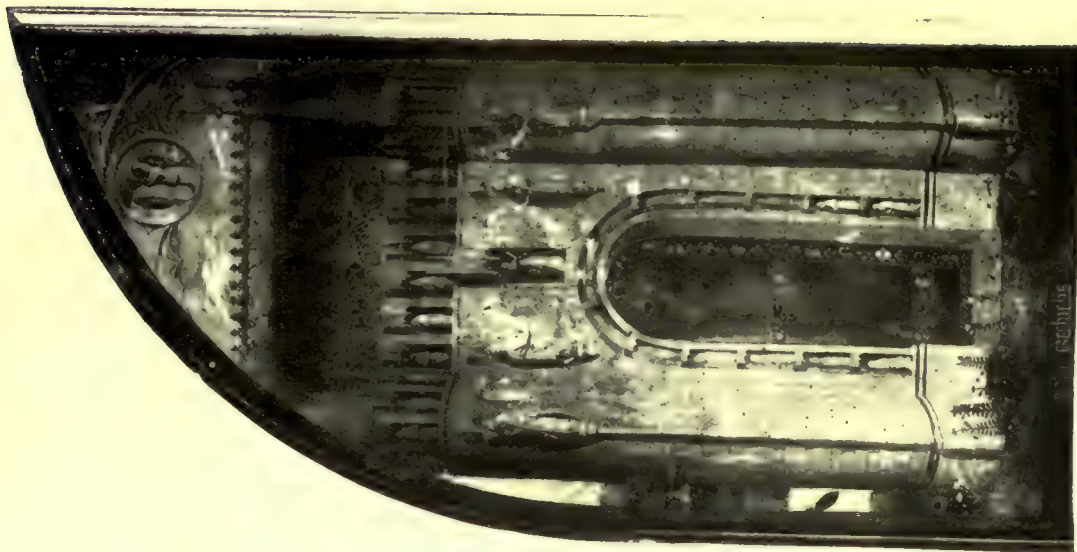
Aaron, clad in a green cope, is represented standing before an altar with a budding rod in his right hand. On the frame at the foot we read, "*virga aaron florens.*" The closed door of the sanctuary, spoken of by the Prophet Ezechiel, is figured in the upper portion of the panel as a rectangular tower flanked at the angles by cylindrical turrets; the gables and the ridge of the tiled roof are crowned by an elegant open-work cresting of metal; similar cresting at the foot of the roof is carried round the turrets. The door itself is bordered by broad bands of metal-work set with precious stones connected by horizontal bands of similar design. The archivolt of the doorway is adorned with twelve statuettes of prophets. Above it, in a canopied tabernacle, is a figure of the Synagogue, blindfolded, holding the tables of the Law upside down, and a banner, the staff of which is falling to pieces. On brackets at each side of this are statues of Moses and prophets, and above these, immediately below the roof, a series of statuettes in tabernacles. In the foreground at the foot of the tower, lilies and other plants are flowering right up to the very door. On the right is a pretty piece of landscape. The molding separating these two zones bears the legend, "*porta ezechielis clausa.*" Both shutters are filled at the head with open-work tracery enclosing figures: the fall of our first parents; an angel with a flaming sword standing at the entrance to Paradise, the angel Gabriel and the Blessed Virgin.

On the exterior of the shutter are grisailles: at the head, three angels blowing trumpets, and a fine half-length figure of the Blessed Virgin and Child appearing within an aureole. At the foot, full-length figures of the Sibyl pointing



THE BURNING BUSH

KESSEL-LOO: M. G. HELLEPUTTE



THE CLOSED DOOR OF EZECHIEL

KESSEL-LOO: M. G. HELLEPUTTE

up to the apparition, and of the Emperor Octavian contemplating it with hands uplifted in prayer. The explanatory legends are: "ara celi—maria—sibilla—octavianus."

This triptych, had it been completed, would have been John's master-piece. It was undertaken at the request of Nicholas van Maelbeke, who, as twenty-ninth provost of Saint Martin's abbey, governed it from 1429 until his death in 1445. It was then, though unfinished, placed over his tomb in the choir of the church. Luke De Heere, in the poem he composed in 1559, mentions it (strophe 19), as also Mark van Vaernewyck, in his *Nieu tractaet* (strophe 126), published at Ghent in 1562; the latter describes it accurately in his *Spiegel der Nederlandscher Audtheit*, printed in 1574. He says that "the picture, of which the shutters are unfinished, is well deserving of admiration; that it was painted by master John van Eyck, and has the appearance of being a heavenly rather than a human work." Guicciardini, Vasari, and Van Mander all make mention of it. Sanderus, who was a canon of Ypres, describes it in 1718 as being then in the choir, and the archdeacon Van der Meesch drew the attention of the two Benedictines, Dom E. Martene and Dom Durand, to it, as they tell us in their *Voyage littéraire*, published in 1717. Between 1757 and 1760 the triptych was removed from the church into the episcopal palace, and a copy of the central panel, now in the possession of Mgr. Felix de Bethune at Bruges, was placed in the Lady Chapel. After the capture of Ypres and the sack of the palace by the French Republicans, the triptych was sold for a song to a butcher, and by him to a Mr. Waelwyn of Ypres. He parted with it to Mr. Bogaert-Dumortier of Bruges, from whose heirs it was

purchased for 6000 francs by M. Désiré Van den Schrieck of Louvain. At his death, in 1857, it became the property of his son-in-law, M. F. Schollaert, Vice-President of the Belgian Chamber of Representatives, after whose death it passed into the possession of M. George Helleputte, his son-in-law.

The authenticity of the picture is incontestable. It is confirmed by two contemporary documents, which are here reproduced. One is a pen-and-ink drawing (H. o,278; B. o,18) in the Albertina at Vienna, formerly catalogued as an original drawing by John van Eyck, but now attributed, without a particle of evidence, to Peter Christus. Another, smaller copy (H. o,135; B. o,15), in silver point, belongs to the Germanic Museum at Nurnberg, where it is attributed to Roger De la Pasture. These drawings represent the central panel only. The first is in a good state of preservation; the other has suffered slightly. The following points should be noted: (1) The band which confines the Virgin's hair in both drawings is quite simple, whereas in the picture it is adorned with jewellery as in the Ince Hall panel and the Bruges altar-piece; (2) the embroidery of the neck-band of the Virgin's dress and of the border of her mantle are non-existent; (3) the shoe and patten of the Virgin's left foot, shown in the drawings, are in the painting hidden by the border added to the mantle; (4) the scroll held by the Child in the drawings is simpler than in the picture, and bears no legend.

In the Albertina drawing the figure of the provost is merely sketched; he has a large tonsure, but neither moustache nor beard; the features, too, have much more distinction; the folds of the cope and the outline of the morse are



OUR LADY AND CHILD AND N. VAN MAELBEKE. PEN DRAWING
VIENNA: ALBERTINA

merely indicated, but there is no trace of the design of the brocade, nor of the storied orfreys. The vaulting of the portico, plain in the drawings, is decorated in the painting. Lastly, the landscape background is not even indicated in the drawings, but if compared with the landscape in the Saint Barbara, its authenticity will be apparent. And, noteworthy above all, this is the earliest picture of the school, and the only one by John van Eyck in which the linear perspective is perfect,—a fact which, notwithstanding its sad state, lends this picture great importance.

A passage said to have been extracted by M. Lambin¹ from a "Memorial" of the community of Grey Friars of Ypres, and published by Carton in 1848, is couched in these terms—

"Anno 1445 heeft meester Ioannes van *Eycken*, een befaemden schilder, binnen Ypre geschildert dat overtreffelyk tafereel 't welcke gestelt wiert in den choor van Sint Maerten's tot een gedachtenis van den eerwaardigen heere Nicolaus *Malchalopie*, *abt* ofte proost van Sint Maerten klooster, die daer voor begraven ligt."

"In the year 1445 master John van *Eycken*, a famous painter, painted at Ypres that excellent picture which was placed in the choir of Saint Martin's as a memorial of the reverend Sir Nicholas *Malchalopie*, *abbot* or provost of Saint Martin's monastery, who lies buried there before it."

This is said by Carton to be an extract from a contemporary chronicle of the Grey Friars' convent at Ypres,² and to prove that the triptych was commenced in 1445, that it

¹ Keeper of the Archives at Ypres; he died in 1841.

² LABORDE, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, I, cxx, warned students against attaching any value to this extract.

was still unfinished when the provost died in 1447 (*sic*), and that the painter was John van *Eycken*. It is highly improbable that any one living at Ypres in the fifteenth century, much less a contemporary, would distort the name of Van Maelbeke, one of the principal families of the locality, or would call the provost of Saint Martin's an abbot, or say that the picture was painted at Ypres. The note was probably not written until long after 1559, when, on the creation of the see of Ypres by Pope Paul IV., Saint Martin's ceased to be a monastic church, and became a cathedral. The phrase *abt ofte proost* looks as though copied from the 1574 edition of Mark van Vaernewyck's *Historie van Belgis*, and "painted in Ypres" is a strange expression for a resident to use, who would surely have written *here* or *in this town*. The wording of the note, too, betokens an eighteenth- rather than a fifteenth-century origin. Most of the critics who have dealt with this triptych since 1848 have relied on this document as the basis for their rejection of the Eyckian origin of the picture. I think its utter worthlessness is established.¹

¹ Having heard from M. E. Liégeois of Ypres, since the above was in type, that the Grey Friars' Chronicle had been found in the Town Library, I have had an opportunity of examining it. It contains *no mention whatever* of the painting; but I came upon the passage in Part II, book II, of a manuscript bearing the n°.85 and the title *Beschryving der vermaerde, oud beroemde en schoone stad Ypre*, written by Peter Martin Ramaut in 1794. It is difficult to believe that the copyist failed to read the lines which immediately follow those he extracted, stating that "the picture used to hang in the choir where the marble reliquary of Saint Walburg now is, but that it was taken away when the choir was lined with marble."



OUR LADY AND CHILD AND X. VAN MAELBEKE
SILVER-POINT DRAWING NURNBERG: GERMANIC MUSEUM

There can be no doubt that everything seen in the Vienna and Nurnberg drawings, and probably the landscape background and the pavement, were painted by John van Eyck, and that the copies belonging to Mgr. F. de Bethune and to the Town Museum at Ypres show the additions made in the sixteenth century, probably about 1560. The representations of the burning bush and of the closed door of Ezechiel are the portions of the shutters on which van Eyck had worked most ; a careful examination of these discloses many beauties. In the nineteenth century, shortly previous to 1830, M. Alphonse Bogaert, of Bruges, scrubbed the picture, and then attempted to restore it. In 1858 M. Heris, of Brussels, cleaned it again. Later on, when in the Schollaerts' possession, it was hung in a sitting-room too near a stove, and became blistered ; the damage was very carefully repaired by M. L. Lampe, in 1901.

As to the date at which the first attempt to complete the central panel was made, some evidence may be gathered from a painting representing one of Nicholas van Maelbeke's successors, kneeling before the Infant Jesus seated on His Mother's lap. This panel must have been painted at Ypres, as there is in the background a view of the bridge over the Yperleet, and of the street leading from it past the front of Saint Martin's church. The provost in this picture holds the same staff as his predecessor, and if the details of the vestments, etc., be compared, it will be seen that it cannot be many years posterior. The immediate successors of Van Maelbeke were Lambert Van der Woestine, 1445-1456; Nicholas van Dixmude, 1456-1464; Walter Thoenin, 1464-1474; and Nicholas van Dixmude, 1474-1482. The only

masters who are known to have flourished at Ypres during that period are John Perrant and George Uutenhove.

Exhibited in the Loan Exhibition of Old Masters at Bruges, in 1867, n°.4, and again in 1902, n°.14, and at the Guildhall, London, in 1906, n°.7.

- 1833. PASSAVANT, 367-369.
- 1847. DE MERSEMAN, 184-185, and 195-199.
- 1848. HOTH0, II, 205-208 and 213-217.
- 1859. HERIS, in *Journal des Beaux Arts*, I, 45 and 53.
- 1860. WAAGEN, 73.
- 1863. RUELENS, civ-cxiii, gives a summary of the various opinions as to the date of the picture, and suggests that Carton's document is of much later date than 1445, and merely the echo of a local tradition. He, however, sees no trace of John van Eyck's hand in the picture, and believes it to be of a later period.
- 1866. MICHIELS, II, 345-348.
- 1879. SCHNAASE, 149.
- 1895. LAFENESTRE, *La Peinture en Europe : la Belgique*, 163.
- 1898. KAEMMERER, 98-99 ; an absurd criticism.
- 1900. VOLL, 119-120.
- 1902. WEALE, in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 4 S., x, 1-6.
- 1902. HULIN, *Catalogue Critique*, 14, thinks the picture to be an original altered at the end of the sixteenth or in the seventeenth century, and repainted once or twice in the nineteenth.
- 1902. GUIFFREY, 474, says that some parts remain intact, and show great precision of drawing.
- 1903. FRIEDLAENDER, in *Repertorium*, xxvi, 69, calls it a sad, but nevertheless an insufficiently esteemed relic of an original by John van Eyck.
- 1903. DE MONT, 57.
- 1903. DUELBERG, 52.
- 1904. DURAND, *Originaux et Copies à propos de l'Exposition de Bruges*, 83-84.
- 1905. FIERENS, 169, considers the authenticity of the picture to be indisputable, and that there are few of John van Eyck's pictures



OUR LADY AND CHILD AND A PROVOST OF S. MARTIN'S, YPRES
LONDON: M HEYMAN-ELLIS

of which the history is so well established, but that owing to restorations there is no trace left of his work.

1906. FLOERKE, I, 407, declares it to be evidently an old forgery of most inferior quality!
1906. VOLL, 264, considers Floerke's criticism far too sweeping, and recognizes the excellence of some portions of the paintings on the shutters; he thinks the figure of Our Lady dates from the end of the fifteenth century.
1907. DURAND, 65-69.

PAINTINGS ATTRIBUTED TO THE VAN EYCKS

12. PORTRAIT OF A GOLDSMITH

Hermannstadt : Gymnasium, Bruckenthal Collection. Oak.

H. 0,174; B. 0,11.

HALF-LENGTH portrait of a rather melancholy-looking man, probably a goldsmith, turned to the right, the face seen in three-quarters. He is clad in a brown dress open in front, showing the straight collar of a black tunic. His headgear is a scarf of blue silk, the lappets of which, with their edges cut in the shape of foliage, fall in front of his shoulders. In his right hand he holds a ring; his left hand and forearm rest on the frame. Dark background; on it an imitation of Albert Dürer's cipher, and the date 1497, additions probably made by the person who enlarged the panel by adding a strip all round, so that it now measures 21 centimeters by 15 centimeters. It is a remarkably fine picture, though it has suffered at the hands of a restorer. The fashion of cutting the edges of the headkerchief into leaf-shapes came into vogue in the Netherlands at the end of the fourteenth century, and died out before 1425. The back of the panel was formerly painted.



PORTRAIT OF A GOLDSMITH

HERMANNSTADT: GYMNASIUM

From a photograph by F. Bruckmann

1894. FRIMMEL, in *Kunstchronik*, N.F., v, 430, and *Kleine Galerie Studien*, 62-66. Wien.
1896. FRIMMEL, in *Repertorium*, XIX, 116.
1898. KAEMMERER, 61, thinks the ring indicates that the man represented was about to enter the married state.
1899. SEECK, 68.
1900. VOLL, 120, thinks the melancholy expression of the face is a proof that this picture dates from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and compares it to portraits in pictures of Gerard David's time.
1901. BODE, in *Fahrbuch der kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXII, 119. The admirable rendering of the personal character, the delicate execution of the drawing, and the beauty of the colour, prove this to be a genuine Van Eyck.
1902. HULIN, 15, attributes this portrait to John.
1903. WEALE, in the *Burlington Magazine*, I, 42, attributes the work to Hubert.
1903. FRIEDLAENDER, in *Repertorium*, XXVI, 68, attributes this portrait to John.
1903. DE MONT, 56.
1905. FIERENS, 151, compares it with the portrait in the National Gallery (2), and thinks that, although contemporary, it cannot be ascribed with certainty to John van Eyck.
1906. VOLL, 45, dates the portrait c.1450, and compares it to the portrait of Mark Barbarigo, in the National Gallery, n°.696.
1907. DURAND, 60.

13. A DONOR PROTECTED BY SAINT ANTHONY

Copenhagen : Royal Gallery, 93. Oak. H. 0,592 ;
B. 0,312. Acquired in 1764.

Dexter shutter of a triptych. A man of middle age kneeling in the foreground of a landscape, his hands joined in prayer. He wears a red, loose-sleeved gown trimmed

with fur and girt with a belt from which hangs a purse. He is protected by Saint Anthony, who, clad in a black habit marked with the tau cross and bell, lays his right hand encouragingly on his client's shoulder. The ground at the foot of the rocks behind the saint, and the hillside on the left, are overgrown with the palmetto. In the background on the extreme left, beyond a line of bushes, is a castle of considerable size, in the entrance and bay window of which, as well as on the open platform, figures of the household are discernible.

On the reverse of the panel was a figure, in grisaille, of the Angel Gabriel, of which very little now remains.

The purse attached to the donor's cincture figures in a portrait attributed to Peter Christus, in the collection of Mr. George Salting. It was probably one of the properties of the Van Eycks, acquired by Christus from John's widow.

This is the dexter shutter of a triptych, of which the exterior represented the Annunciation; the centre panel of the interior, Our Lady and Child, or some subject from the life of Our Lord; and the shutters, the donors with their patron saints. Above this triptych would have been placed, in accordance with the general custom, a statue of the saint in whose honour the altar was erected. There can be little doubt that it formed part of an altar-piece formerly in the church of Saint Saviour, at Ghent, painted by Hubert van Eyck for Robert Poortier, a burgher of Ghent, and Avesoete his wife, founders of the altar of Saint Anthony in that church, as we learn by their last will dated the 9th of March, 1426, just six months before Hubert's death. At that date the altar itself was not yet completed, and the



A DONOR PROTECTED BY SAINT ANTHONY
COPENHAGEN: ROYAL GALLERY

altar-piece and statue of Saint Anthony were still in master Hubert's workshop.

1426, 9 March. Extract from the will of Robert Poortier and his wife, in the Archives of the town of Ghent :

“Kenlic zij enz. dat zij begheeren te ligghene in de kerke 's Helichs Kersts in de zuut cappelle, die men heet Onser Vrouwen cappelle van der Moure, daer zij eenen saerc hebben doen legghen, ter welker plaetsen zij willen ende begheeren dat vulcome dat men in de selve capelle doe maken eenen altaer omme up te doene den dienst ons Heeren, ende an den selven altaer te stelne 't belde van Sente Anthonise, welc beelde nu ter tijt rust onder meester Hubrechte den scildere met meer ander weercx dienende ten selven altare.”

1872. CROWE, 143. Much in the spirit of John van Eyck, and perhaps one of the best efforts of Christus. A deep, ruddy-toned picture of fine execution.

1875. CLEMENT DE RIS, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2 P., XII, 408. Fine and firm, energetically modelled and powerfully coloured. In a perfect state of preservation.

1898. KAEMMERER, 110.

1900. WEALE, in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 5 S., XI, 285; in the *Nineteenth Century*, n°.285, p. 789; and in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., XI, 253-255.

1901. SEECK, in *Kunstchronik*, N.F., XII, 258, says that the treatment of the rocks and vegetation in this picture presents close analogy to that of the landscape in the Turin picture of Saint Francis. He believes it to be by Peter Christus, but accounts for its being so far superior to his other works by the supposition that it was painted under Hubert's supervision, and probably not entirely without his collaboration.

1901. WEALE, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 3 P., XXV, 477.

1903. DE MONT, 51.

1903. SCHUBERT, 28.

1904. DVOŘÁK, 183, thinks that this picture dates from the middle of the fifteenth century, and accepts its attribution to Peter Christus.

1905. FIERENS, 119, considers the landscape to be very fine, and similar in style to that in the Turin Saint Francis.

1906. VOLL, 47.

14. OUR LADY AND CHILD, SAINT ELISABETH OF HUNGARY, SAINT BARBARA, AND A CARTHUSIAN

Paris: Baron Gustave Rothschild. Oak. H. 0,355; B. 0,48.

The scene is laid in a portico or cloister paved with light-blue tiles and slabs of porphyry and verd antique. Five round arches supported by cylindrical columns of green and black marble rest on the low wall which separates the cloister from the outer world. In the centre the Virgin-Mother stands erect beneath a canopy with a cloth of honour which reaches to the ground, and completely shuts out the view through the central arch. With her right arm she tenderly supports the Divine Infant against her bosom, her left hand retaining His feet. The Child holds a crystal orb surmounted by a gold cross, and raises His right hand in the act of blessing a Carthusian kneeling in the foreground, his hands joined in prayer. He is protected by Saint Barbara, who has one hand on his right shoulder, while with the other she holds out a palm to the Infant Christ. In a garden of flowers hard by stands her other emblem, a tower with a window of three lights, through which is seen against a blue star-sprinkled background a statue of

the god Mars—his name on its base—which has the appearance of an antique bronze. On the left of the Virgin stands a saint holding three crowns superposed; her dress is a grey violet trimmed with white fur, a plain linen coif, and over all an ample black cloak. Saint Barbara is habited in green with a crimson mantle kept in place by a cordon attached to its jewelled neckband; her hair, confined by a cincture of pearls, falls behind her in undulating masses. The Blessed Virgin is represented in a dark-red loose-sleeved dress trimmed with ermine and girt with a green-and-gold sash; over this she wears a blue mantle edged with gold embroidery studded with precious stones. Her hair, confined by a jewelled band, falls over her shoulders. A rich Oriental carpet with fringed border is spread on the pavement beneath her feet. The cloth of honour behind her, and the canopy above, are of red-and-green brocade, with blue floral ornaments within double ogee-shaped compartments bordered by undulating foliage enwreathed with scrolls bearing the salutation, *Ave, gracia plena*. The background, seen through the open arches, is an exquisite bit of landscape, through which a broad river winds its way towards the front from distant snow-capped mountains. On the left it skirts the crenelated walls of a city with many churches and towers of an English type of architecture, including an exact reproduction of old Saint Paul's as seen from the south; the buildings and busy streets are represented with marvellous distinctness. On the river is a boat crowded with passengers to the city, another is moored to the bank; swans, too, enliven the scene. On the near bank is a country waggon with a party looking out at the

side from beneath its canvas covering. In the half-distance the river is spanned by a bridge of seven arches; numerous horsemen and pedestrians are wending their way across or looking down at the water, in which they are faithfully reflected. In the sky above we espy a flight of wild geese. The outlook through the arch on the extreme right of the panel is on to a thickly wooded hillside, beyond which are buildings, including a church backed by distant mountains.

The Carthusian portrayed here is Dom Herman Steenken, of Zuutdorp, a village to the south of Axel, in Zeeland. He entered the Order at Diest, when, at an early age, he was appointed Vicar of the Nunnery of Saint Anne *ter Woestine* (in the desert), near Bruges, an office which he held from 1402 to 1404, and again from 1406 until his death in the odour of sanctity on the 23rd of April, 1428.

I have been unable to find any documentary evidence as to the date of this picture, which I think must have been painted between 1406 and 1420, certainly before the Rolin altar-piece. Dom Herman wrote a number of books, two of which have been published: "De Regimine Monialium Liber I." and "Sermones quinquaginta super Orationem Dominicam," printed respectively at Audenaerde in 1480 by Arend De Keysere, and at Louvain in 1484 by John of Westphalia.

A notice of Dom Herman, kindly extracted from the Archives of the Order and communicated to me by Dom Peter Pepin, informs us that he was in the habit of repairing for prayer to a chapel dedicated to Saint Barbara not far from the nunnery.

The Charterhouse of Saint Anne was destroyed in 1578,

when the nuns took refuge in Bruges. This picture appears to have come later on into the possession of the Archduke Ernest of Austria, Governor of Belgium from 1592 to 1595.

The panel has been enlarged all round by a thumb's breadth.

- 1857. MÜNDLER. A very fine authentic piece by John van Eyck.
- 1866. MICHIELS, II, 299: "Le type des visages est gracieux mais n'a pas l'ampleur habituelle du maître. . . . La ville est un prodige de patience. . . . Tableau d'une couleur et d'une conservation admirable. Les vêtements sont magnifiques."
- 1872. CROWE, I 13.
- 1894. TSCHUDI, in *Jahrbuch der kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XV, 65-70.
- 1898. KAEMMERER, 93-97. The landscape has undeniably an Eyckian appearance, but the figures are hard and lifeless; the painter was unable to represent living persons.
- 1899. SEECK, 18-22, 68. Certainly by Hubert, and earlier than the smaller Berlin picture.
- 1900. VOLL, 81-84, dates this picture about 1437, and praises highly not only the landscape background, but also the modelling and colour of the figures; he thinks it is certainly an original work by John.
- 1900. WEALE, in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 5 S., XI, 285; *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., XI, 254, and *Nineteenth Century*, n°.285, p. 789.
- 1900. KAEMMERER, in *Kunstchronik*, XII, 71, acknowledges that he had never seen the picture, but that he still doubts its being by either of the Van Eycks, and that Dr. Bode, in conversation, had also expressed his doubts.
- 1901. WEALE, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 3 P., XXV, 475.
- 1903. DE MONT, 52, looks on this picture as the work of one of John's pupils, and declares the river and town to be a servile copy of those in the Rolin altar-piece!
- 1903. SCHUBERT, 37.
- 1904. DVOŘÁK, 241, believes this to be an imitation of the Rolin

altar-piece (15), basing his remarks on a photograph, and on Kaemmerer's observations, but he had not seen the painting.

1904. KERN, 14, plate viii.

1905. FIERENS, 121. The most remarkable of the pictures attributed to Hubert, for the splendour of its colour and the extraordinary precision of the details of the background.

1906. VOLL, 40.

1906. SIEBERT, 10.

1907. S. REINACH, *Tableaux inédits ou peu connus*, 1-7, Paris.

15. OUR LADY AND CHILD AND CHANCELLOR ROLIN

Paris: Louvre, 162. Oak. H. 0,66; B. 0,62.

Formerly in the collegiate church of Our Lady at Autun, in Burgundy.

On the left, the Blessed Virgin is seated on a marble throne with mosaic inlays, furnished with cushions of blue-and-gold brocade. An angel in a blue alb, with beautiful peacock wings, flying down, holds an elaborate gold crown over her head. With both hands Mary supports the Divine Child seated on her right knee. He is nude, holds a crystal orb surmounted by a jewelled cross, and raises His hand to bless the chancellor, Nicholas Rolin, who kneels before Him with joined hands at a prayer-desk covered with blue drapery bordered with red, on which lies his open breviary. He is clad in a robe of dark violet-and-gold brocade trimmed with fur, and wears a wig. Mary, whose hair, parted in the middle, is confined by a black riband and drawn back behind the ears, has a blue dress, almost entirely hidden by the dark crimson mantle which envelops her person and falls with numerous folds and sharp breaks on the pavement. Along



OUR LADY AND CHILD AND CHANCELLOR ROLIN
PARIS: LOUVRE

its edge runs a text, embroidered in gold, from the Lesson at Matins in the Office of Our Lady, taken from the twenty-fourth chapter of Ecclesiasticus: *Exaltata sum in Libano*, etc.

The figures thus grouped are in a three-aisled hall or portico, into which the broad daylight streams through an arcade of three slightly stilted arches resting on slender cylindrical columns of variegated marble; above are two windows of coloured glass, the lower portions only of which are seen; those in the aisles are filled with pearl-white roundels. The capitals of the columns are adorned with interacements of foliage and animals, and those of the piers in the angles with groups of figures representing the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, the sacrifice of Cain and Abel, Noe quitting the ark, and the sin of his youngest son.

The pavement is formed of rectangular slabs of stone, alternately plain and adorned with geometrical inlays. The arcade opens on to a garden of roses, lilies, irises, and other flowering plants, with a path through the centre, on which a couple of magpies are disporting themselves; beyond this five steps lead to a raised terrace with a crenelated wall. Here we see two peacocks basking in the sun, and two men who—one in blue with a red head-dress, and a walking-stick in his left hand, the other in red—are looking down over the battlements at a broad river intersecting a town, the two portions of which are connected by a fortified bridge of seven arches. Beyond the bridge, in mid-stream, is a castled island; from a distant range of blue mountains, whose snowy summits glisten in the sunlight, the river, enlivened by a variety of craft, flows towards the front with many windings through a

lovely country of hills, fields, and meadows. This landscape and the town in the foreground contain an almost incredible amount of detail. The background bears a general resemblance to that of the painting in the Rothschild collection at Paris (14).¹ The composition was most probably suggested by the scenery about Maastricht; that town, the suburb of Wyck on the opposite side of the river, and the bridge and island agreeing pretty closely with the picture, so far as their relative position is concerned, but no further, for here evidently, as in all the landscapes of the Van Eycks, the whole is really an original composition, but so skilfully designed as to give the impression of its being a real view.

The effect of the picture is marred by a disagreeable yellow varnish.

Nicholas, son of John Rolin and Amée Jugnot, born at Autun in 1376, lord of Authume (Burgundy), Aymeries and Raismes (Hainault),² was created Chancellor of Burgundy and Brabant, December 3, 1422. He married (1) Mary de Landes (died before 1411), and (2) Guygonne de Salins. He founded the hospital at Beaune in 1445, and died January 18, 1462. In his portrait in the altar-piece of the hospital, 1446, he appears as of about seventy years of age.

¹ The details vary considerably; *e.g.* the cathedral here having the appearance of a French edifice; the tower of Saint Martin's cathedral at Utrecht is pictured nearer the river.

² The two last fiefs and those of Pont-sur-Sambre and Dourlers belonging to René of Anjou were, when he, by the death of his father-in-law in 1431, became duke of Lorraine, seized by the Duke of Burgundy, who granted the revenues thereof to his chancellor. Later on René fell into Philip's power and was imprisoned at Lille. On February 4, 1437, before being set at liberty, he sold all his rights to these fiefs to the chancellor.



A. Giraudon photo.gr.

NICHOLAS ROLIN, CHANCELLOR OF BURGUNDY AND BRABANT

BORN 1376; DIED 1462



Dedicationsskizze der Wiener Roussillonhandschrift.

DEDICATION MINIATURE OF "GERARD DE ROUSSILLON"
VIENNA: IMPERIAL LIBRARY



DEDICATION MINIATURE OF THE "CHRONICLES OF HAINAULT"
BRUSSELS: BURGUNDIAN LIBRARY

The chancellor is also represented in a remarkably fine miniature at the head of the first volume of "Les Chroniques de Hainaut" (Brussels: Burgundian Library), a translation from the Latin of James de Guyse by John Wauquelin of Mons, who is represented presenting his work to Duke Philip, surrounded by members of his court, his son Charles at his left side and the chancellor at his right. Copies of this miniature with modifications occur in several other manuscripts written by Wauquelin, in the Brussels Library, and in the Romance "Gérard de Roussillon," in the Imperial Library, Vienna, n°.2549.

1778. COURTÉPÉE, Description du Duché de Bourgogne, Dijon, III, 451. The picture was then in the sacristy of the collegiate church of Our Lady at Autun. The background is described as showing the city of Bruges in perspective, with more than 2000 figures!

1855. VIARDOT, Les Musées de France, 172.

1857. CROWE, 96: "A splendid specimen of John's early and most powerful manner . . . almost equal to the large productions of Hubert. . . . Here John's art is displayed in all its force and weakness;—admirable when we only look at the characteristic rendering of the scratch-wigged chancellor, or the adumbrations that cover the wondrous details of architecture, or the crystalline purity of a distance carried to a horizon of snow mountains miles away; disappointing when we look at the plain mask of the Virgin, or the wooden shape of the aged babe naked on her knee, or the piled and broken drapery that rests on the figures."

1858. HOTHO, II, 180.

1860. WAAGEN, 70. The features of the Virgin are pretty, but of little spirituality of character; the Child, of unusual elegance for the master; the angel, very beautiful; and the portrait of the donor, of astonishing energy.

1866. MICHIELS, II, 297. The town in the background not Bruges, but Maastricht.

1879. HAMERTON, 155-157.

118 HUBERT AND JOHN VAN EYCK

1885. GILBERT, 151.
1887. CONWAY, 97, 152: "The Virgin possesses no physical attractions; the Child is ugly, and the chancellor hideous . . . but his face, hideous though it be, possesses a fascination by reason of its strong and vivid presentment of character, which puts all else into the shade."
1898. KAEMMERER, 93, dates the picture c.1437.
1899. SEECK, 23-26, 68, thinks it was painted c.1422, and that Rolin has the appearance of a man of fifty years of age.
1900. VOLL, 65-70, dates it c.1425.
1901. BODE, 124, says it was painted c.1434, certainly not before 1432.
1902. MARKS, in the *Athenæum*, December 12, p. 800.
1903. MARKS, 22: "The Louvre picture is certainly the work of two painters. Otherwise we must suppose that the painter, having completed his figures, proceeded to kill them with his accessories. John surpassed himself in painting the accessories of this picture. . . . The winding river can be no other than the Rhine. . . . John shows here, perhaps even more than in the Ghent altar-piece, that he is a great master of landscape painting. . . . The dominant interest of the picture does not centre in the figures."
1903. ROSEN, 92.
1903. ROOSES, *Oude Hollandsche en Vlaamsche Meesters in den Louvre*, 61-66. Antwerpen.
1903. DE MONT, 53.
1903. SCHUBERT, 32-36.
1904. KERN, 15, plates ix and x, judging by the perspective, considers it to be a work of John's later period.
1904. DVOŘÁK, 191, 216, 219, 241. Indisputably painted by John.
1905. DOEHLEMANN, 11.
1905. FIERENS, 128-131, dates it c.1426.
1906. VOLL, 36, thinks the town represented to be Liège, and the picture to have been painted by John, at latest in 1426.
1906. SIEBERT, 8-10.

The background of a miniature in a Book of Hours executed c.1450 for the Bastard of Orleans, John count of



NICHOLAS ROLIN, CHANCELLOR OF BURGUNDY
(DETAIL OF ALTAR-PIECE)
BEAUNE: HOSPITAL



MINIATURE IN THE HOURS OF JOHN COUNT OF DUNOIS
LONDON: H. Y. THOMPSON, ESQ.



S. Botticelli

THE ANNUNCIATION

SAINT PETERSBURG: HERMITAGE

Dunois, has been admirably adapted from that in the Louvre painting.

16. THE ANNUNCIATION

Saint Petersburg: Hermitage Gallery. Dexter shutter of a triptych. Canvas, transferred from the original panel. H. 0,92; B. 0,38.

In the nave or transept of a lofty three-aisled building the Blessed Virgin is represented standing on the left, behind a prayer-desk, on which an illuminated book lies open. Opposite her the angel, who, bearing a sceptre of crystal and gold, has entered from the side aisle, raises his right hand, and greets her with the salutation: *Ave, gratia plena*, to whom she, her hands raised apart and with her head slightly inclined, signifies her humble submission to the Divine will by the words: *Ecce ancilla Domini*; both inscriptions in detached gold capitals float in the air. Amid seven rays of light, projected from heaven through the clerestory, the Holy Dove flies down to Mary. She is clad in a blue dress trimmed with ermine, open at the neck, girt with a broad sash immediately below the breast, and over this an ample blue mantle with a narrow border of gold. Her hair, confined by a jewelled band, is drawn back off the forehead and falls over her shoulders, leaving the left ear exposed. Gabriel, who has beautiful peacock-wings, wears, over a tunic of green-and-gold velvet brocade, a cope of dark red and gold, bordered with pearls and precious stones, and kept in place by a circular morse. A jewelled coronet with a cross flory rising from the front confines his hair, which falls in curly locks on

his shoulders. The draperies of both the angel and the Virgin spread around in many folds on the pavement, which is composed of oblong storied panels, separated from each other by bands of undulating foliage of varied design, with the signs of the zodiac in elliptical medallions at the intersections; those seen are Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Scorpio, and Sagittarius; while the storied panels show Samson slaying the Philistines with the jawbone of an ass; Delilah cutting off his hair—*DALIDA VXOR S*—Samson pulling down the pillars of the temple of Dagon—*SAMSON MVLTA GENTES INTERFECIT I QVIVIO*—and David cutting off Goliath's head, Saul, surrounded by his warriors, looking on from his tent; these accompanied by explanatory inscriptions. In the immediate foreground, on the left, is a wooden stool, with a tasseled red damask silk cushion on it, and beyond it a glass vase with lilies. The architecture in this picture is remarkable, but cannot be considered as the representation of any one building, though all the details appear to be correctly drawn. The late Romanesque arcade, with its very stilted arches seems to have been copied from the arches of an apse, but straightened out; the capitals of the columns are sculptured with interlaced foliage, those of the piers at the angles with figures. The square-headed triforium, with its row of columns, may possibly have been suggested by the Baptistery at Parma, but more probably by the cathedral of Tournay. The spandrils between the arches at the further end of the building are adorned with two half-length figures in circular medallions: Isaac on the right and Jacob on the left. In the window above is a full-length figure of our Lord in a red robe and yellowish-blue mantle, holding a sceptre and an



THE ANNUNCIATION
(Detail)

SAINT PETERSBURG: HERMITAGE

open book. His feet rest on a globe, on which in capital letters ASIA. Above Him are two seraphim standing on wheels. On each side is a mural painting—that on the right representing the daughter of Pharaoh—PHARAONIS FILIA—and a maiden—P...SCELLA—carrying the infant Moses—MOYSES—in a cradle; that on the left, Moses—MOYSES—bending before the Lord—DÑS—and receiving the tables of the law, on which is inscribed the second commandment: *Non assumes nomen Domini Dei tui in vanum*.¹ The compartments of the wooden ceiling are also apparently represented as decorated with paintings.

This panel is said by the dealer Nieuwenhuys to have been found in a church at Dijon, to which it had been presented by Philip III., Duke of Burgundy. Brought to Paris in 1819, it was sold by him to King William II. of Holland. On the dispersal of that monarch's collection in 1850, it was purchased for the Hermitage for 12,949 francs, equal to £518. A copy is said by Crowe and by Kaemmerer to have been in the possession of a M. van Hal at Antwerp, and to have been sold there and afterwards at Paris in the middle of last century.

1858. HOTH0, II, 171. The figures, he thinks, painted after Hubert.

1864. WAAGEN, *Die Gemälde Sammlung in der K. Ermitage, München*, p. 115, gives 1433-34 as the probable date of this painting.

1866. MICHIELS, II, 317, 342.

1872. CROWE, 113: "Though not of John van Eyck's best, this genuine work is full of interest, on account of the finish and variety of its accessories."

¹ Exodus xx, 7.

1883. BODE, Kaiserliche Gemälde Galerie in St. Petersburg, Paris, dates it 1426.
1887. CONWAY, 141.
1898. KAEMMERER, 71, suggests that the upper portion may have been added!!
1899. C. PHILLIPS, in the *North American Review*, 712, calls it "an unlovely, yet in detail a wonderfully interesting piece, produced a year or two earlier than the altar-piece in the Bruges Gallery."
1899. SEECK, 70, attributes it to John, and dates it 1437.
1900. KAEMMERER, 70, dates it 1436.
1900. VOLL, 62, believes John to have painted this soon after 1426. He says that we know that John in his younger days spent a long time in France, and gives as his authority (note 39) Laborde, "*Les Ducs de Bourgogne passim*,"¹ and concludes that this picture was painted during a stay in Burgundy, where he must have made Rolin's acquaintance, and received the commission to paint the altar-piece now in the Louvre.
1901. VOLL, 218, 225.
1903. DE MONT, 21, gives c.1437 as the date, and says the angel is very like the Madonna in the Van der Paele altar-piece!
1904. KERN, 13, plate vii.
1905. FIERENS, 127, dates this painting c.1427.

17. PORTRAIT OF AN ESQUIRE OF THE ORDER OF S. ANTHONY

Berlin: Royal Gallery, 525A. Oak. H. 0,40; B. 0,31.

Formerly in the collection of Philip Engels, sold at Coeln, May 16, 1867, described in the catalogue, n°.17, as the portrait of a Duke of Burgundy, by Hubert van Eyck. Purchased by Mr. Suermondt of Aachen, for 5500 francs, it was in 1874 bought from him for the Berlin Gallery.

¹ This is very vague; I cannot find a single passage to warrant the reference.



AN ESQUIRE OF THE ORDER OF S. ANTHONY

BERLIN: ROYAL GALLERY

By permission of the Berlin Photograph Co

Portrait of a man of about sixty years of age, turned slightly to the right, the face, deeply wrinkled and closely shaven, seen in full light. He wears a loose grey robe, trimmed with fur, just low enough at the neck to let his red satin damask tunic and some fine linen be seen. A high, broad-brimmed fur hat covers his head. Around his neck is the collar of the Order of Saint Anthony, to which is suspended a tau cross with a tinkling bell attached thereto, all of silver, here painted grey with white lights. His hands originally rested on a parapet, still discernible under the coat of paint with which it has been covered. He holds a bunch of red-and-white pinks in the right hand, on the fourth finger of which he wears a handsome ring. The background is dark.

The Order of Saint Anthony, founded in 1382 by Albert of Bavaria, Count of Hainault, was originally a military order, to which only noblemen and doctors were admitted. Under Jacqueline of Bavaria, in 1420, it ceased to be a military, and became simply a pious society, and by an ordinance of the chapter dated the 11th of June of that year, it was decided that the tau and bell to be worn by knights and ladies should be of silver gilt, and those by squires and their wives of plain silver.¹

Engraved by Gaillard, 1869. H. o,15; B. o,17.

Facsimile by the Berlin Photographic Company, 1907.

¹ The insignia of the Order are thus described in the statutes : " Ung collar, et pendant à icellui collar une pottence et au debout d'icelle une cloquette sonnante." Portraits of the members formerly adorned the chapel at Barbefosse, and it is possible that this may have been one of them.

Exhibited: Bruges: Early Netherlandish Paintings,
1867, n^o.3.

The individual here portrayed figures as one of the Kings in an Epiphany picture belonging to Count Landsberg Velen, at the castle of Gemen, Velen, ascribed to the 'Master of the Family of Saint Anne,' and supposed to have been painted for a member of the Hackeney family, between 1480 and 1510.

- 1867. E. GALICHON, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, xxiii, 484.
- 1869. W. SCHMIDT, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, iv, 357.
- 1869. BÜRGER (Thoré), in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2 P., I, 7-10, thinks this portrait was painted between 1432 and 1436.
- 1872. CROWE, 95.
- 1874. WOLTMANN, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, ix, 195.
- 1875. STEPHENS, 3.
- 1887. BODE, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2 P., xxxv, 214.
- 1898. KAEMMERER, 62, dates this portrait c.1433.
- 1899. SEECK, 26-30, 68, attributes it to Hubert, and thinks it was painted before 1422.
- 1900. VOLL, 113-119.
- 1900. KAEMMERER, 72-74.
- 1901. BODE, 120-122.
- 1903. DE MONT, 55, dates this portrait 1436.
- 1904. TSCHUDI, 8.
- 1905. FIERENS, 151.
- 1906. VOLL, 44.



THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI. (DETAIL)
VEIT: COUNT LANDSBERG-VELEN



THE ANNUNCIATION

DRESDEN: ROYAL GALLERY

by Giovanni Stanetti, 1680, Dresden, Germany

18. OUR LADY AND CHILD, SAINT KATHERINE, SAINT
MICHAEL, AND THE DONOR

Dresden : Royal Gallery. Oak. H. 0,275 ; B. centre, 0,215 ;
shutters, 0,08.

Formerly in the collection of Everard Jabach ; n°.266 in the inventory drawn up on July 17, 1696, described as by Hubert van Eyck, and valued at 6 livres.

The exterior—a general arrangement—represents the Annunciation. On the dexter panel, the archangel, on the sinister, the Blessed Virgin, as two ivory statues on octagonal pedestals in square-headed niches ; Gabriel in an alb and an ample mantle, holding a sceptre, and with his right hand slightly raised as he delivers his message ; Mary, the gathered folds of her mantle in her left hand, raises her open right in token of submission to the Divine will ; the Holy Dove is flying down to her.

Interior. In the nave of a three-aisled building Our Lady sits enthroned in a graceful attitude, with both hands supporting the infant Saviour seated nude on a linen cloth spread over her lap. The Child's left hand rests on His knee ; with His right He holds a long white scroll, bearing the exhortation : *Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde*, in black minuscules with a blue initial. His Mother wears a dress of deep blue, with a jewelled border at both neck and wrists, and over this an ample mantle of deep red crimson edged with gold embroidery interspersed with

precious stones. Her long fair hair, drawn back behind the ears and confined by a cincture adorned with rubies, sapphires, and pearls, falls in undulating masses over her shoulders. Two rings adorn the third finger of her left hand. Her feet rest on a rich carpet spread over the throne-steps and pavement. The principals of the throne are crowned by bronze figures. Those in front represent a pelican in its piety and a phoenix; and those at the back, the sacrifice of Abraham, and David and Goliath. A cloth of honour of rich brocade is suspended by cords from the columns of the triforium; the pattern is of foliage, flowers, and golden fruit, with greyish-white lions and light-blue unicorns on a black ground. Two rows of cylindrical marble columns, which divide the nave from the aisles, rest on Gothic bases, but are crowned by late Romanesque capitals of interlaced branches of foliage; above these, on corbels, are statues of saints in tabernacles with crocketed canopies; the piers in the background have storied capitals. The lancet windows of the clerestory are filled with grisaille glass, those of the aisles with roundels.

On the dexter shutter is a portrait of the donor, a man of about fifty, kneeling on the pavement, his hands apart, uplifted in prayer. His robe of olive-green, full-sleeved, and with a high collar, is trimmed with fur; he wears a wig. A deep crimson head-covering with the lappet falling over the right shoulder, a plain gold ring on the little finger of the right hand, and pointed shoes, complete his costume. He kneels, protected by Saint Michael—a manly but youthful figure, with auburn locks and wings of rainbow hue, attired in bronze armour, with a gorgeret and jupon of mail; his left



OUR LADY AND CHILD ENTHRONED

DRESDEN: ROYAL GALLERY

By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co

arm supports his helmet; his lance rests against his right shoulder; while a strap across his chest supports a buckler at his back. The capital of the pillar immediately behind him is adorned with a group of warriors, one of whom has probably been suggested by a figure of Bellerophon and the Chimæra, or of Alexander, on some ancient sarcophagus.

On the opposite shutter Saint Katherine, patron of the learned, is represented standing, reading in a book supported on her left hand; with her right she holds a sword which rests on the pavement, where lies the other instrument of her martyrdom, a wheel of torture. Her dress is of bright blue with close sleeves terminating above the elbows, with long lappets hanging from thence, and over it she wears a sideless robe of ermine with a blue skirt. A richly jewelled coronet confines her fair hair, which is drawn off her forehead and falls on her back. Her only other ornament is a simple necklace with a pendant jewel. A two-light window at her back is filled with roundels, and its traceried head with glass of various colours; the lower portion is open, and through this tiny space, about 5 centimeters by $1\frac{1}{4}$, we are afforded a view, beneath a brilliant cloudless sky, of a town, fields with trees, delicate blue hills, and beyond them sparkling snow-capped mountains.

The frame bears the following texts, painted to represent inscriptions in relief in the hollows of the moldings. On the centre panel: “+ Hec est speciosior sole et super omnem stellarum dispositionem luci comparata invenitur prior: candor est enim lucis eterne et speculum sine macula Dei maiestatis, etc. Ego quasi vitis fructificavi suavitatem odoris: et flores mei fructus honoris et honestatis. Ego mater

pulchre dilectionis et timoris et magnitudinis et sancte spei," etc.¹

On the dexter panel :

" Hic est archangelus princeps milicie angelorum
cuius honor prestat beneficia populorum
et oracio perducit ad regna celorum.
Hic archangelus Michael Dei nuncius
de animabus iustis, gracia Dei ille victor
in celis resedit a pa."

At the upper dexter angle is an escutcheon bearing *Gules* a castle triple-towered *argent*, on a chief *or* an eagle issuant *sable*, Giustiniani.

On the sinister panel :

" Virgo prudens anelavit
ad sedem sideream
ubi locum preparavit,
linquens orbis aream
granum sibi reservavit
ventilando paleam.
Disciplinis est imbuta
puella celestibus,
nuda nudum est secuta
certis Christi passibus
dum mundanis est exuta, etc." ²

¹ Wisdom vii, 29, 26 ; Ecclesiasticus xxiv, 23, 24, *magnitudinis* for *agnitionis* in the Vulgate.

² From the hymn at Vespers in several fourteenth-century Office-books in use in the diocese of Liège, and in the Breviary of Tournay, printed at Paris in 1497. The "etc." stands for the final line, "vacuis honoribus."



S. MICHAEL AND THE DONOR



S. KATHERINE

DRESDEN: ROYAL GALLERY

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At the upper sinister angle is an escutcheon bearing *Argent* 21 billets *gules*, on a canton *or* a fess *gules*. The shutters have suffered from over-cleaning.

Etched by Hugo Bürkner.

1765. Catalogue of the Dresden Gallery. The travelling altar-piece of Charles V., by Albert Dürer.
1817. Catalogue. German school : by an unknown master.
1840. Catalogue. By Hubert van Eyck.
1846. Catalogue. By John van Eyck.
1858. HOTH, II, 194. 1860. WAAGEN, 29. Both these authors call the archangel 'Saint George'!
1862. DARCEL, *Excursion artistique en Allemagne*, Paris, 62, doubts the authenticity of the picture, on account of the prominence of the animals and flowers in the cloth of honour.
1862. SCHAEFER, *Die königliche Gemälde Gallerie zu Dresden*, III, 835-847.
1866. MICHIELS, II, 134, assigns the exterior to Peter Christophsen! and calls the angel and the Virgin "des personnages stupides et d'une laideur inintelligente." Describes the interior as the earliest work due to the united efforts of Hubert and John, and praises "the marvellous tone of the crimson mantle of the enthroned Madonna;" this being in reality a bit of modern overpainting which greatly diminishes the harmony of the picture.
1872. CROWE, 104-105, attributes the whole to John, and describes it inaccurately.
1885. GILBERT, 153.
1898. KAEMMERER, 78, gives it to John, and dates it c.1437.
1899. SEECK, 32, 70, believes it to date from about 1434; the splendid architecture and extremely delicate colour alone to be John's, everything else copied from Hubert. He notes that the light falls on Saint Katherine's face, although she is standing with her back to the window.
1900. VOLL, 85, considers this to be a late work, the general planning by John, the execution of the shutters by another hand; these so weak that, if separated from the centre, no one would take

them for works of Van Eyck. The shutters are lifeless and cold; the figure of the donor weakly conceived; the head monotonous and hard in modelling; the hands have little individuality, their pose meaningless!

1902, 13 December. MARKS, Alfred. Expresses his surprise at the unanimity with which this picture has been ascribed to John alone. "In this work," he observes, "the personages dominate their surroundings, with the result that we have a harmonious whole—one of the most perfect pictures in the world. I cannot escape the conviction that we see here the result of the collaboration of the two brothers." He attributes the figures to Hubert, the accessories to John.

1902. WOERMANN, Katalog, gives this work to John.

1903. DE MONT, 23, dates this picture *c.* 1437.

1904. KERN, 12, plate vi.

1905. FIERENS, 161, considers the Saint Katherine one of John van Eyck's finest creations.

1906. VOLL, 39-41, 261-262. The centre so far surpasses the shutters, that it alone can be looked on as the work of John's own hand; it is painted in a warm tone, whereas the shutters are cold.

1906. SIEBERT, 7-8.

19. THE VISION OF SAINT FRANCIS

Two panel paintings representing Saint Francis of Assisi, said to have been painted by the hand of John van Eyck, were in the second half of the fifteenth century in the possession of Sir Anselm Adornes, lord of Corthuy, Ronsele, Ghendbrugge, etc., a scion of the Genoese family of Adorno, born in 1424, at Bruges, of which town he was burgomaster in 1475. He was assassinated at Linlithgow, on the 23rd of January, 1483. By his wife, Margaret Van der Banck, who died on the 23rd of March, 1462, he had amongst other children two daughters who became nuns: Margaret, who



THE VISION OF SAINT FRANCIS

PHILADELPHIA M^r J. G. JOHNSON

entered the Charterhouse of Saint Anne *ter Woestine*, and Louisa, a canoness of the abbey of Saint Trudo, both in the immediate neighbourhood of Bruges. Their father, by his will, dated February 10, 1470, bequeathed the two paintings to them, and directed his executors to have the portraits of himself and his wife painted on the shutters of each of the paintings, so that his daughters and other pious people might be reminded to pray for them. Whether this last direction was carried out we know not. Both convents were demolished during the troubles in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and the numerous works of art which they contained either perished or were dispersed. It is possible that the paintings we are about to describe may be those mentioned in the will, of which we reproduce the clause relating to them: "Item zo gheve ic elken van myn lieve dochters, die begheven zyn, te wetene: Margriete, 't Saertruesinnen, ende Lowyse, Sint Truden, een taveree, daerinne dat Sinte Franssen in portrature van meester Ians handt van Heyck ghemaect staet, ende dat men in de duerkins die de zelve tavereelkins belancken doe maken myn personage ende mer vrouwe, alzo wel als men mach, te dien hende dat wy van hemlieden ende andere devote personen moghen ghedocht zyn, ende daertoe elcken ic gheve om haerlieden wille mede te doen."

19A. Philadelphia: Mr. John G. Johnson. Oak. H. 0,125;
B. 0,145.

The picture represents the Vision of Saint Francis on Mount Alverna, when he received the stigmata. In his

treatment of the subject, the painter has not adhered rigidly to the earlier representations, in that he has omitted the rays from the Saviour's hands, feet, and side, to those of the saint, and has placed the sleeping brother, Leo, on the same plane as the saint, instead of in the half-distance. In all earlier Netherlandish pictures the habits of both the saint and the brother are grey, and the Franciscans were known as the Grey Friars; but here the habit is brown, the colour adopted by the reformed Franciscans, a conclusive proof that the picture was painted in the South of Europe. The first convent of the reformed Franciscans in the Low Countries was not founded until the end of the fifteenth century. It must also be remarked that the kneeling saint is not an ideal impersonation of the poor man of Assisi, but the portrait, evidently true to life, of a sturdy middle-aged man. The scene is laid in the foreground of an exquisite landscape in a retired spot, shut in on each side by tall limestone rocks. The saint kneels before a mass of rock, above which, to the right, appears the seraphic vision. Between the rocks we get a view of a river in the half-distance, which bathes the walls of a fortified town with many towers and spires seen in bright sunlight; on the stream are boats, and on the bank and the bridge giving access to the city gate are innumerable figures on foot and on horseback. In the far-off distance are snow mountains, from whence the river flows with many windings towards the town. In the foreground flowers bloom amidst the herbage, while the palmetto grows in abundance at the foot of the rocks, on the summit of the tallest of which are three birds.

Purchased about 1830 by Lord Heytesbury from a



THE VISION OF SAINT FRANCIS
TURIN ROYAL GALLERY

medical man at Lisbon, as an original work by Albert Dürer, it remained in the collection at Heytesbury until 1890, when it was acquired by Mr. Johnson. It was carefully cleaned by Mr. Roger Fry, in 1906.

Exhibited: British Institution, 1865, n°.41; Burlington House, Old Masters, 1886, n°.198.

19B. Turin: Royal Gallery, 313. H. 0,28; B. 0,33.

The same composition, with some slight differences. The saint's face, less lifelike, has a pleasanter look; his tonsure is larger, and more of Brother Leo's face is seen; the habits of both friars are grey. Strange to say, the brother, who having his legs crossed, shows in Mr. Johnson's picture the sole of his left foot, has here two right feet.

At the beginning of the last century this panel belonged to a secularized nun of Casale, in Piedmont. After forming part of the collections of Professor Bonzani, and of Signor Fascio, Mayor of Feletto in Canavese, it was in 1860 acquired by the Turin Gallery.

1857. WAAGEN, 389, writing of the panel, then at Heytesbury, describes it as "delicate in feature and very earnest in expression. . . . In the treatment of the equally delicate, solid, and miniature-like execution, this little picture agrees entirely with the altar-piece in the Dresden Gallery, surpassing it, however, in the depth of the warm tone."

1860. WAAGEN, 69.

1883. HYMANS, in *Bulletin des Commissions royales d'Art et d'Archéologie*, XXII, 108-116, describes the Turin panel as surprisingly beautiful, and of such perfection in the details as has never been

surpassed by any artist of the fifteenth century. The colour is superbly vigorous and harmonious.

1883. WAUTERS, *Les deux Saint François de Jean van Eyck*. In *Echo du Parlement*, 7 Août, Brussels.
1886. J. C. ROBINSON, in the *Times* of February 1, calls the Heytesbury picture an exquisite little gem by John van Eyck.
1886. WEALE, in the *Times* of February 3.
1886. PHILLIPS, in *Chronique des Arts*, 15, expresses the gravest doubts as to the correctness of its attribution to John van Eyck.
1887. CONWAY, 141, calls the Heytesbury panel a smaller replica of the Turin picture.
1888. HYMANS, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2 P., xxxvii, 78-83.
1894. DEHAISNES, *Les Œuvres des Maîtres de l'Ecole Flamande primitive conservées en Italie*, 6.
1897. JACOBSEN, in *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, S. 2, III, 208, calls the Turin picture a successful imitation of later date. The formation of the rocks and the colouring of the foliage with little touches of the brush recall Bles, and the delicate rosy tone with a tinge of violet reminds one of (the pseudo-)Mostaert.
1898. KAEMMERER, 108, calls the rocks fantastic, and doubts the correctness of the attribution to John van Eyck.
1899. SEECK, 13, 69, looks on the Turin panel as a late work by Hubert.
1900. VOLL, 109, calls the Turin panel a pretty, sympathetic picture, but cannot discover in it any direct conformity with the character of John's authentic works. He thinks it belongs to a later period, because the saint is kneeling on both knees, and with his hands not outstretched to receive the stigmata. He also considers the landscape romantic, and to be contemporary with Dürer.
1900. MARKS, in the *Athenæum*, May 26, p. 664.
1901. BODE, 129, considers the Turin panel to be the original, and the smaller panel a replica executed in Van Eyck's workshop.
1903. ROSEN, 105-110, 133, calls the Turin picture a pretended Van Eyck, and says the landscape resembles those by Bouts, but cannot be by him because the plants are not so well painted. The foreground is yellow brown to olive green, instead of deep juicy green as in the panel of the Adoration of the Lamb. His statement that the feet of Christ are covered by the seraph's wings, is incorrect.



THE VISION OF SAINT FRANCIS
MADRID: PRADO GALLERY



OUR LADY AND CHILD IN A CHURCH

BERLIN: ROYAL GALLERY

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D. Anderson, painting.

OUR LADY AND CHILD IN A CHURCH
ROME: DORIA GALLERY



SAINT ANTHONY AND THE DONOR
ROME: DORIA GALLERY



OUR LADY AND CHILD IN A CHURCH
PEN-DRAWING

1903. DE MONT, 51.
 1904. DVOŘÁK, 240.
 1905. FIERENS, 116.
 1906. FRY, in the *Burlington Magazine*, ix, 358.
 1906. C. RICKETTS, in the *Burlington Magazine*, ix, 426.
 1906. F. J. M., in the *Burlington Magazine*, x, 138. Mr. Johnson's Saint Francis is original, and of finer quality than the replica at Turin. The head of the saint is evidently a portrait.
 1907. JACCACI, in the *Burlington Magazine*, xi, 46-48.

A painting at Madrid (Prado Gallery, 1525. Oak. H. 0,47 ; B. 0,36) formerly ascribed to Albert Dürer, but now attributed to Joachim Patenir, is evidently based on Van Eyck's composition.

20. OUR LADY AND CHILD IN A CHURCH

Berlin : Royal Gallery, 525c. Oak. H. 0,31 ; B. 0,14.

Formerly in the Suermondt collection at Aachen ; purchased for the Gallery in 1874.

In the nave of a three-aisled cruciform Gothic church with an apsidal choir and ambulatory, seen from the left, the Blessed Virgin, clad in a red dress and greenish-blue mantle with an elaborate gold crown on her head, stands holding the Divine Child on her right arm, and retaining His feet with her left hand. From the waist down He is enveloped in a long white cloth, the end of which hangs in front. With His right hand He clutches the neckband of His Mother's dress. The sun, shining through the clerestory and the windows of a side chapel behind the Virgin, produces a fine effect of

light and shadow. A sculptured stone screen of three bays surmounted by a rood with statues of the Virgin and Saint John, and furnished with a brass Gospel lectern, separates the nave from the choir, within which stand two angels singing from a book. On an altar in the side bay to the right is a statuette of Our Lady on a metal pedestal between two candlesticks. The sculptured tympanum of this bay represents the Annunciation; that of the central bay, the Coronation of Our Lady.

Original frame painted in imitation of stone, and bearing in capital letters: "Mater hec est filia pater hic est natus quis audivit talia deus homo natus." At the foot: "Flos florum appellaris."

1851. LABORDE, II, 1.

1855. LABORDE, *La Renaissance des Arts à la Cour de France*, I, 604-607 (Paris), says that the panel in Cacault's possession was purchased from his housekeeper for 50 francs.

1869. BÜRGER, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2 P., I, 12, says this picture is the one which belonged to M. Nau.

1872. CROWE, 115: "Suggestive of doubt. . . . There is a reminiscence of Van Eyck in the type of the heads, and something to recall memories of the Madonna of Dresden, but that the tones are less silvery and the *impaste* is heavier. . . . The way in which the effect of light is brought out reminds us of the later Dutch masters. . . . Is not this a skilful copy by a master like De Hooch?"

1877. WOLTMANN, in *Repertorium*, II, 419-422.

1879. SCHNAASE, 154. An authentic work by John.

1887. CONWAY, 145. A genuine work by John.

1887. BODE, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2 P., xxxv, 216. A genuine work by John. The Child is very small, and poorly modelled, and there is a want of decision in the folds of His Mother's dress; but these are the result of a restoration of the whole of the lower portion of the picture.

1898. KAEMMERER, 76-80. A masterpiece as regards both the lighting and the production of an impression of space, but the weak character of the draperies is against its being attributed unreservedly to John. A free copy is in the Ponzoni Collection at Cremona.
1899. SEECK, 41, 70, notes that the architecture of the church is wholly in the Pointed style, without any admixture of Romanesque ; for this and other reasons he dates the picture *c.*1440.
1900. VOLL, 78-81. Undoubtedly a late and very fine picture by John, and a proof that he had great poetic feeling. Having compared it with the group of the virgin-martyrs in the Adoration of the Lamb, he thinks it proves conclusively that that group is also by John.
1900. KAEMMERER, 70.
1902. HULIN, 2, 118, attributes this picture to Hubert.
1903. DE MONT, 18, says: "painted between 1432 and 1480; the Blessed Virgin an imitation of one of the virgin-martyrs in the Adoration of the Lamb."
1904. KERN, 14, puts its date *c.*1436.
1905. FIERENS, 162. The most remarkable of many copies of a lost original.
1906. VOLL, 39, says the church represented is Saint Denis, and dates the picture *c.*1432.

Several copies of this picture, evidently the dexter panel of a diptych, are known: one formerly in the possession of F. Cacault, who was the representative of France at Naples, Florence, and Rome, was sold at his death for 17 francs to an architect named Nau at Nantes. Laborde, who saw it, gives its dimensions as 43 centimeters by 25. Another copy, dated 1499, painted for Christian De Hondt, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Our Lady of the Dunes (H. 0,31; B. 0,15), is now in the Van Ertborn Collection at the Antwerp Museum. Another, painted *c.*1505 for "Messer Antonio

Siciliano," was in 1530 in the house of Gabriel Vendramin, at Venice, and is now in the Doria-Pamphili Gallery at Rome. A finely executed pen drawing (H. 0,30; B. 0,14), the lower left corner repaired, in the collection of Count Louis Paar, was sold at Vienna, February 21, 1896, n°.326. Another in pen and bistre on paper (H. 0,18; B. 0,095) was lent to the Grosvenor Gallery Winter Exhibition, 1878-9, n°.630, by Sir J. C. Robinson, and is reproduced in Kaemmerer's "Hubert und Jan van Eyck," p. 77.

21. OUR LADY AND CHILD

Frankfort: Städel Institute, 98. Oak. H. 0,655; B. 0,495.

Formerly in the possession of Charles Louis, Duke of Lucca; was in 1841 in the hands of the dealer Nieuwenhuys at Brussels, from whom it was purchased by William II., King of Holland, at whose sale in 1850 it was acquired by the Institute for 3000 florins.

In this, as in the picture at Ince Hall, the scene is laid in a room of small dimensions, lighted by a window on the right. The Virgin-Mother is seated on a high-backed carved oak throne, with bronze lions surmounting the principals. From a fringed canopy attached to the ceiling hangs a cloth of honour, with a green-and-gold pattern of foliage, and white-and-red flowers on a blue ground, with a border of white with a red stripe. She wears a blue dress, the full sleeves of which are lined with white fur, and over this an ample crimson mantle with a bejewelled border of gold embroidery. Her flowing light-brown hair, drawn back off the



OUR LADY AND CHILD

FRANKFORT: STAEDEL INSTITUTE

From a photograph by F. Bruckmann

temples and confined by a narrow band adorned with pearls, falls over her left shoulder. With her right hand she supports the Child, seated nude on a linen cloth spread on her lap, and gives Him the breast with her left. He holds an orange in His left hand, and lays His right on His Mother's arm. In a niche on the left is a brass basin, and on a shelf above it a bottle of water and a brass candlestick. Opposite this a round-headed window glazed with pearl-white roundels, letting in a moderate amount of light, but enough to make the lions and vessels glitter; on the sill are a couple of oranges. The throne-steps are covered with a rich carpet which extends to the front, leaving the pavement of white tiles with a blue design visible at the sides.

Etched by J. Eissenhardt.

1858. HOTH0, II, 189.

1860. WAAGEN, I, 69.

1862. DARCEL, *Excursion artistique en Allemagne*, 190.

1863. RUELENS, xxvi.

1866. MICHIELS, II, 318.

1872. CROWE, 113.

1898. KAEMMERER, 87.

1899. SEECK, 22, 70, dates it 1433.

1900. WEIZSAECKER, *Catalogue*, gives the date of its execution as between 1435 and 1440.

1900. VOLL, 70.

1903. DE MONT, 55, gives 1432-33 as the date of this painting.

1904. KERN, 9.

1905. FIERENS, 162.

1906. VOLL, 37.

1906. SIEBERT, 10-11.

22. PORTRAIT OF JOHN ARNOLFINI.

Berlin: Royal Gallery, 523A. Oak. H. o,29; B. o,20.

Formerly in the collection of the Earl of Shrewsbury at Alton Towers, sold July 6, 1857 (n°.76), when it was described as being much injured and repainted. It was purchased for £37 by C. J. Nieuwenhuys, at the sale of whose collection July 17, 1886, it was described (n°.67) as the portrait of John van Eyck by himself. It was then acquired for the Gallery for £399.

Arnolfini is represented turned slightly to the right, his face, close-shaven, seen in three-quarters. He is clad in an olive-green robe trimmed with brown fur, fitting close at the neck with stand-up collar; a scarlet head-kerchief completes his costume. He has small bluish-grey eyes; his left arm rests on the sill of a window; his right hand, in which he holds a folded letter with an illegible superscription, is laid upon his left; a ring adorns the little finger. The luminous flesh tones of the face and the green and red of the costume on the unrelieved dark background make a striking and delightful picture.

Facsimile coloured reproduction by the Berlin Photographic Company.

1887. TSCHUDI, in *Jahrbuch der königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, VIII, 172-174.

1887. BODE, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2 P., XXXV, 214.

1898. KAEMMERER, 101, 104, comparing this portrait with that of 1434 in the National Gallery, arrives at the conclusion that Arnolfini's



JOHN ARNOLFINI
BERLIN : ROYAL GALLERY
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married life was not happy. This rash judgment is, he thinks, confirmed by the fact that he and his wife were not buried in the same grave nor even in the same church. Both John and his brother Michael were, as Lucchese merchants, buried in their chantry chapel, in the vault reserved as their exclusive resting-place.

1899. SEECK, 26-30, 53, comparing this with John's dated portraits, is of opinion that it was painted in 1433.

1900. VOLL, 74-75, dates this portrait 1437-1439.

1905. FIERENS, 154.

1906. VOLL, 38.

23. PORTRAIT OF SIR BALDWIN DE LANNOY, LORD OF
MOLEMBAIX

Berlin: Royal Gallery, 252D. Oak. H. 0,26; B. 0,195.

Formerly at Modena, in the collection of the Marquess of Coccapane.

Half-length portrait of a man; the face, seen in two-thirds in full light turned to the right; the eyes looking straight out, away from the spectator. He wears a robe of violet-purple damask, with yellowish-green sprays of foliage, trimmed at the neck and wrists with reddish-brown fur; under the robe a close-fitting tunic with a collar open in front, showing a little fine white linen. He has a large felt hat, of the same shape as that worn by John Arnolfini in the picture at the National Gallery. He holds with both hands a white wand, the symbol of his official position of chamberlain at the Duke's court. A ring adorns the little finger of his right hand, and upon his shoulders hangs the enamelled gold collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, of

which he had been created a knight by Duke Philip on its institution, January 10, 1430. The collar, a work of the Bruges goldsmith, John Peutin, was delivered to him on Saint Andrew's Day, 1431. Hence it is certain that this portrait must have been painted after that date, probably some years later. The back of the panel is painted to imitate stone.

A drawing in pencil of this portrait, faithfully reproducing every detail, is preserved in the town library at Arras (MS. 266), in the collection of portraits of persons connected with the court of the Dukes of Burgundy, made by James Leboucq, painter and genealogist (d. 1573), and formerly belonging to the abbey of Saint Vedast. At its foot is the legend: "Baulduyn de Lannoy dit le Besgue sieur de Molembais."

This Baldwin, surnamed the Stammerer, belonged to one of the most illustrious families of Hainault. He was the third son of Gilbert, lord of Santes and Katherine de Saint-Aubin, lady of Molembaix, Heri, and Saint-Aubin. Born in 1386 or 1387, he was appointed Governor of Lille in 1423, Captain of the castle of Mortagne in 1428. He died in 1474, having married, (1) Mary de Melles (d. 31 May, 1433), and (2) Adriana de Berlaymont (d. 29 April, 1439). He was buried at Solre-le-château. John van Eyck's striking portrait of Baldwin evidently drew the attention of the unknown Westphalian author of a series of paintings illustrating the preaching of the Crusade by Saint Bernard now in the Wallraf-Richartz museum at Cöln. In one of these, depicting an incident that occurred in the church at Frankfort when the saint was about to carry the emperor Conrad III.



SIR BALDWIN DE LANNOY

BERLIN: ROYAL GALLERY

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AN INCIDENT IN THE LIFE OF S. BERNARD
COELN: WALLRAF-RICHARTZ MUSEUM



AN INCIDENT IN THE LIFE OF S. BERNARD. (DETAIL)
COELN: WALLRAF-RICHARTZ MUSEUM

out of the crowd pressing around, he has introduced this picturesque figure among the onlookers.¹

Helio-engraving by J. Chauvet, 1900, H. o,187; B. o,137.

Etching by Peter Halm, 1901, H. o,161; B. o,119.

1900. WEALE, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XXIV, 173-176.

1900. DIMIER, in *Chronique des Arts*, 10 November.

1901. BODE, XXII, 115-118.

1901. SEECK, in *Kunstchronik*, N. F., XII, 259-260.

1904. WEALE, in the *Burlington Magazine*, v, 408.

1905. FIERENS, 139.

24. OUR LADY AND CHILD, SAINT BARBARA, AND A CARTHUSIAN

Berlin: Royal Gallery, 523B. Oak. H. o,195; B. o,14.

Formerly in the Marquess of Exeter's collection at Burleigh House. At its sale, June 9, 1888, n°.288, it was acquired by the Gallery for £2625.

On the left Our Lady stands, holding in her arms the Infant Jesus, on whom she gazes with an expression of deep love. The Child, a crystal orb in His left hand, has His right raised in the act of blessing a Carthusian, the identical monk portrayed in the Rothschild picture, only older here by some years. Here too he kneels under the protection of Saint Barbara, who has her right hand on his shoulder and her left extended to a tower with three windows, her distinctive emblem; this tower, square and crenelated, is

¹ I am indebted for the photographs of this picture to the kindness of Dr. K. Westendorp, who first drew attention to it in the *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, 1906, p. 226.

crowned by a metal spire. The Virgin-Mother wears a full-sleeved blue dress trimmed with ermine, and a crimson mantle with a simple border of gold, secured by a cord fastened to two jewels. Her hair, confined by a cincture of pearls, is drawn back behind the ears, and falls over her shoulders. The monk, the hood of his cowl thrown back, kneels with his hands joined in prayer, whilst Saint Barbara, in a red dress girt with a gold cincture, is almost completely enveloped in a green mantle; her hair, also held back by a band of pearls, falls behind. These figures are beautifully grouped in a brightly lighted, lofty portico with two open pointed arches on the right behind Saint Barbara, and two round arches in the background supported by square piers and a column of verd antique, the bases of which rest on a low wall. Above these are two windows with borders of coloured glass; in front of these, and immediately over Our Lady, hangs a circular, conical canopy of a gauzy material, with a red, green, and white fringe. The pavement is composed of rectangular slabs of stone, some with coloured inlays, but mostly plain. The capital of the column on which the round arches rest is sculptured with interlaced foliage, that of the pier to the right with a group of figures. Through the central arch a sunlit landscape is seen, and in the foreground, a town composed of innumerable houses, with a wonderful variety of street-fronts and gables, some roofed with red tiles, others with bluish slates. Through the town runs a river, lined on either bank with an avenue of trees. A wooden bridge connects the two portions of the town; beyond it we descry a water-mill and a house resting on arches of masonry; further off still, a bridge of seven arches, with a lofty square



OUR LADY AND CHILD, S. BARBARA AND A CARTHUSIAN
BERLIN: ROYAL GALLERY

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tower at each end in immediate connection with the ramparts; on both bridges are a number of persons, whose faces and figures are reflected in the running water beneath. A small boat is being propelled single-handed beneath the more distant bridge; three more boats are visible still further away, while churches and other buildings dot the well-wooded landscape through which the river runs towards the front. An equally minute landscape is seen through the arches behind Saint Barbara; it comprises a flower-garden, and beyond it a market-place with a cross, many houses, and numerous shops displaying a variety of wares; the streets are thronged with people; in the background a windmill and the rampart with its fortified wall. The atmosphere is clear, birds are fluttering about, and a few light, fleecy clouds float across the limpid blue sky.

Exhibited: Leeds, 1868.

1854. WAAGEN, III, 406. In the tone and treatment it has the greatest resemblance to the masterly picture in the Louvre.
1857. CROWE, 341-345: "A symmetrical and beautifully ordered composition, perfectly balanced in every part—the figures being so marshalled, and the accessories so arranged, as to give the picture an uncommon degree of simplicity and grandeur. . . . The general aspect of the picture is equally pleasing, as are its parts when taken separately—the composition being as remarkable for harmony of lines, as for the perfection of its chords of colours. The attitude of the Virgin and Saint Barbara are as graceful as that of the kneeling monk is severe and noble. The female heads, elegant and pleasing as they are in form and expression, remind us of the saints led by Saint Barbara in the 'Agnus Dei.' The monk is a splendid portrait, and a marvel for nature and severity; the head being as fine in details as it is able in the mass. . . . A small masterpiece, comparable only to the best part of the greatest work of John van Eyck."

1885. GILBERT, 153.
 1889. TSCHUDI, in *Fahrbuch der kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, x, 154-165, and xv, 65.
 1898. KAEMMERER, 95-97, finds the figures hard and lifeless, and considers this picture to be by Peter Christus.
 1899. SEECK, 14-22, 68, attributes this painting to Hubert.
 1900. VOLL, 119. Probably by Peter Christus, whose work it most closely resembles.
 1900. WEALE, 286. Probably by Hubert.
 1903. MARKS, 30. Painted by Hubert and John in collaboration.
 1903. DE MONT, 58.
 1904. KERN, 15, plate xii, on account of the accuracy of the linear perspective, gives this to Peter Christus.
 1904. DVOŘÁK, 178.
 1905. FIERENS, 116.
 1906. SIEBERT, 10.
 1906. VOLL, 46. Painted late in the fifteenth century.

25, 26. CALVARY AND THE LAST JUDGMENT

Saint Petersburg: Hermitage Gallery, 444. Shutters of a triptych. H. 0,62 ; B. 0,25. Canvas, transferred from panel.

Calvary. On the slope of a hill stand three tall tau crosses, that in the centre with the title-board facing the front. Our Lord, fastened to it with three nails, has just expired. There surrounds it a crowd of men, judges, soldiers, and others, six or seven of them on horseback. Amongst them a man carrying the reed and sponge; on the right, the blind Longinus on horseback, aided by another man, has just pierced the Saviour's side. To the right and left of the Redeemer are the two thieves, each blindfolded and fastened by five cords to a cross facing towards the centre; the penitent



Hanfstaengl photogr.

CALVARY



THE LAST JUDGMENT

SAINT-PETERSBURG: HERMITAGE

hanging quietly ; the other, on the left, struggling desperately, but in vain. At the foot of the hill in the immediate foreground, the Virgin-Mother, overcome with grief, is tenderly supported by Saint John, with the three holy women in close attendance ; to the left, Magdalene praying with arms uplifted towards the Redeemer ; beyond her, a turbaned woman stands compassionately contemplating the group around the Virgin-Mother.

The Last Judgment. Our Lord, seated on the rainbow, is draped in an ample mantle which leaves His feet exposed. From the wounds in these and in His outstretched hands proceed rays of glory ; just below these, in detached letters, runs the invitation : "*Venite benedicti patris mei.*" Two angels hovering in the background bear the holy cross with the title-board ; another, on the right, carries the lance and crown of thorns ; and a fourth, on the left, three rods with the reed and sponge. Beyond these, on each side, are four angels blowing long trumpets. On the right of our Lord His Blessed Mother, with her right hand on her breast and her left upraised, is begging mercy for a number of suppliants sheltered beneath her mantle ; opposite her, on the left, is Saint John the Baptist praying ; beyond each of them a choir of adoring angels. Immediately below our Lord's feet a crowd of virgins, facing the front, are singing the praises of God ; on each side the Apostles, clad in white robes, headed by Saint Peter, are seated on two benches,—on the end of that to the right is carved the fall of our first parents. Two angels are leading in two groups of the elect : on the right, a pope, a cardinal, a couple of bishops, priests, monks, friars, and hermits ; on the left, a crowd of laymen, headed by an

emperor, a king, and a count. Below, the earth and the sea are yielding up their dead. In the centre stands Saint Michael, a noble figure with outstretched peacock-wings, with buckler and sword upraised ready to smite the enemy of mankind. The oval buckler, charged with a cross, bears in Greek characters the legend, "Adoravi tetgrammation agla";¹ and his armour is covered with mystical inscriptions. He is barefooted; his flowing, curly locks are retained by a jewelled circlet surmounted by a cross. Beneath his feet a weird spectre of Death, with outstretched legs and arms, and huge bat-like wings, overshadows the abyss of hell, in which a multitude of the damned, falling head foremost in dire confusion, are being tortured by hideous demons. On the Death's wings are the legends, "CHAOS MAGNUM" and "VMBRA MORTIS," and the fearful sentence, "*Ite vos maledicti in ignem eternum*" accompanied by fiery darts from above.

These panels were purchased in Spain by the Russian ambassador Tatistcheff, who in 1845 bequeathed them to the Gallery. The central panel, representing, it is said, the Adoration of the Magi, had been previously stolen. Until 1861 both were ascribed to John van Eyck; they were then, on the authority of Dr. Waagen, attributed to Peter Christus, but in 1887 they were reassigned to John, to whom they are still attributed in the official catalogue.

The original frames of these shutters, of gilt wood, bore the following inscriptions. On that representing Calvary: "Dominus posuit in eo iniquitatem omnium nostrum: Oblatus est quia ipse voluit: et non aperuit os suum: sicut

¹ The four Hebrew letters comprising the holy name Jehovah. As to "agla," see p. 41, note 2.

ovis ad occisionem ducetur: et quasi agnus coram tondente se obmutescet: propter scelus populi mei percussi eum: et dabit impios pro sepultura: et divitem pro morte sua: Tradidit in mortem animam suam: et cum sceleratis reputatus est: et ipse peccata multorum tulit: et pro transgressoribus rogavit.”¹ On the frame of the Last Judgment: “Ecce tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus: et habitabit cum eis: ipsi populus eius erunt: et ipse Deus cum eis erit eorum Deus: Et absterget Deus omnem lagrimam ab oculis eorum: et mors ultra non erit: neque luctus: nec dolor erit ultra.”² Dedit mare mortuos suos.³ Congregabo super eos mala et sagittas meas complebo in eis: consummentur fame: et devorabunt eos aves morsu amarissimo: dentes bestiarum immittam in eos: cum furore trahentium super terram atque serpentium.⁴ Dedit mors mortuos.”

The Berlin Gallery contains a much-enlarged copy of the Last Judgment (H. 1,34), by Peter Christus, signed and dated 1452.

1841. PASSAVANT, in *Kunstblatt*, n^o.3, attributes these pictures to John van Eyck.

1858. HOTHÖ, II, 169, thinks they may have been painted before 1426 by either Hubert or John, as both brothers are, he says, represented standing at the foot of the Cross.

1879. CLEMENT DE RIS, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2 P., XIX, 574.

1887. C. JUSTI, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XXII, 244, gives these pictures to John.

1898. KAEMMERER, 52-56.

¹ Isa. LIII, 6, 7, 8, 12.

² Apoc. XXI, 3, 4.

³ Id. XX, 13.

⁴ Deut. XXXII, 23, 24.

1899. PHILLIPS, in the *North American Review*, 713-714, says:
 "These panels must for the present be put in a class by themselves, or rather with a restricted group of similar works among which are to be numbered . . . the Berlin Calvary, the Three Marys at the Sepulchre, the Saint Francis receiving the Stigmata, and the Fountain of Living Water. These paintings reveal a deeper pathos than the calm Jan van Eyck had hitherto seemed to have at command, and with it a mode of handling not quite so minute and searching in every particular. The Saint-Petersburg Calvary and Last Judgment are not only beyond reasonable doubt John van Eyck's own, but they must, as creations of absolute originality, be counted among the most wonderful things of the Netherlandish school at this period. Hardly again has the Crucifixion been imagined with this rugged force and grandeur, with this power of intense individualization which yet robs the world-tragedy of none of its significance."
1899. SEECK, 12, 68, finds the figures of Christ and the thieves weak; the fissures and stones in the foreground, the landscape and architecture, the sky and clouds, resemble the Berlin Calvary.
1900. VOLL, 106-108.
1901. SEECK, 260.
1901. BODE, 125.
1903. SCHUBERT, 28.
1903. DE MONT, 49, says that these two panels most certainly have points of resemblance to Hubert's paintings, but not the slightest to any of John's authentic works.
1903. SCHMARSOW, 23.
1904. DVOŘÁK, 177, 228.
1905. FIERENS, 118. The architecture in the background, the group of holy women, and the accoutrements of some of the soldiers, remind one of "the Three Marys"; the horses seen in profile are not without analogy with those in the Turin Hours. The Last Judgment is a bold and original conception. The angels with draperies terminating in broken folds, and some of the blessed, recall the Ghent altar-piece.
1906. VOLL, 269, dates these paintings c.1450.
1907. DURAND, 58-60.



CHRIST ON THE CROSS, THE B. VIRGIN AND SAINT JOHN

BERLIN: ROYAL GALLERY

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27. CHRIST ON THE CROSS, THE BLESSED VIRGIN,
AND SAINT JOHN

Berlin: Royal Gallery, 525F. H. 0,44; B. 0,30. Linen,
transferred from the original panel.

In the centre of the immediate foreground rises a tall tau-shaped cross, the beam of which extends almost the full width of the picture; the large board above it, with the title in three languages, reaches nearly to the head of the frame. To this cross the Saviour is fastened by three nails. His head is bent forward to the right, as if He had cast a last dying look on His Mother. The expression is striking. His dark hair hangs down as if dank from sweat on each side of His face; blood drips from the wounds in the hands, and, trickling down the forearms, falls from each elbow, and in an abundant stream from the side and feet to the foot of the cross. The foreground is strewn with stones, with here and there a bone. On the right the Virgin-Mother stands with head bowed down and hands interlaced in deep but resigned grief; a linen kerchief with gaufred edge envelops her head and throat; over it she wears a light-coloured mantle, the ample folds of which are gathered up under her right arm, showing the dark-blue dress beneath. On the left, the beloved disciple, his head turned away, is wiping his tears with the back of his left hand, and with the other holding up the pale red mantle he wears over his dark violet tunic. Beyond them are numerous figures. The half-distance is filled with a thick growth of bushes with light dotted foliage; in the middle are figures going away towards the gate of a walled

city with numerous square and circular towers, and a lofty rectangular building crowned with five cupolas; in the distant background is a double range of snow mountains. On the left the view is shut out by a hill with a pine tree, some cypresses, and a windmill on the further side. On the right is a tall tree with bare branches, about which hover a number of starlings. Overhead a clear sky, with small bright floating clouds to the left.

This picture, formerly ascribed to Roger De la Pasture, came into the hands of the late Mr. Buttery, who sold it to the Association of Friends of the Frederick William Museum. It is in fairly good condition, but has sustained a few slight restorations, rendered necessary by small pieces of the paint becoming detached in the process of transference from the panel.

- 1898. TSCHUDI, in *Fahrbuch der königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XIX, 202-205.
- 1898. WEISBACH, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 3 P., xx, 160.
- 1899. FRIEDLAENDER, in *Repertorium*, XXII, 411.
- 1899. SEECK, 5-13, 69.
- 1900. WEALE, in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 5 S., xi, 285.
- 1901. BODE, 127-128.
- 1903. ROSEN, 98-105, notes that the branches of the pine are incorrectly represented as springing from the trunk at the same height. Regards the work as posterior to the Van Eycks.
- 1903. DE MONT, 49.
- 1903. SCHUBERT, 28.
- 1904. DVOŘÁK, 177-178, 228.
- 1905. FIERENS, 119.
- 1906. VOLL, 48, believes this panel to have been painted in the second half of the fifteenth century, and possibly copied from a lost work by Hubert or John.



THE THREE MARYS AT THE SEPULCHRE
RICHMOND; SIR F. COOK

28. THE THREE MARYS AT THE SEPULCHRE

Richmond: Sir Frederick Cook. Oak. H. 0,715; B. 0,89.

Prior to 1472 in the possession of Philip de Commynes. In the eighteenth century it belonged to James Wynckelman, Lord of 't Metersche, whose collection was sold at Bruges, May 4, 1770. It was acquired by M. Bernard Bauwens, at whose sale, August 8, 1826, it was bought by a dealer. In 1854 it was in private hands at Antwerp, and was purchased by Mr. William Middleton, of Brussels. At the sale of his collection at Christie's, January 26, 1872, it was bought for £335 by a Mr. Johnson, from whom it was acquired by Sir J. C. Robinson, and from him by the late Sir Francis Cook.

In the centre of the foreground the empty sepulchre is seen with its displaced cover lying slantwise across it. On the cover an angel is seated, wearing an alb and a stole crossed over his breast. He holds a golden sceptre in his left hand, and has his right raised as he announces the Resurrection of the Lord. To the right have just arrived the three holy women. Magdalene is pictured kneeling at the foot of the sepulchre, with one hand resting on the pot of ointment set on the edge of the tomb, the other slightly raised in astonishment at the angel's words. Her companions stand a little further back, wrapt in wondering silence. In front of the sepulchre two soldiers in armour, and, on the left, a third, lie fast asleep. In the foreground palmettos are growing, and flowering plants, amongst which are the mullen, teasel, white

nettle, and flag-lily. In the rising background, between brown rocks, a number of men on foot and on horseback are making their way along a winding road leading to a fortified town crowded with numerous houses and towers. Snow-capped mountains beyond rise to the sky, relieved here and there by light fleecy clouds and crossed by a flight of wild geese. The sun has just risen, but is hidden from view by rocks on the right; the effects of light falling on the towers crowning the hills on the left—the centre of the town remaining in shade—are admirably rendered. Oddly enough, the light in the foreground of the picture comes from the opposite side, suggestive, perhaps, of moonlight. In the lower sinister corner is an escutcheon in grisaille, charged with a chevron between three escallops and a bordure; and surrounded by a collar of the Order of Saint Michael. This was evidently added between 1469 and 1472, as the Order was instituted by Louis XI. of France in 1469, and the only member of it who bore these arms was Philip Van den Clyte, better known as Philip de Commines. His treasonable practices having come to the knowledge of Charles the Rash, his estates were confiscated on the 8th of August, 1472, and all his goods sold.

The picture is not in good condition. The blue drapery of one of the women standing on the right, and the heads of both, have suffered. Portions of the sky and some of the buildings in the background have been overpainted since 1870. The fore part is best preserved.

Exhibited: London: Burlington House, Old Masters, 1873, n°.171; Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1892, n°.11;

New Gallery, 1899, n^o.9. Bruges: Early Netherlandish Masters, 1902, n^o.7. London: Guildhall, 1906, n^o.1.

1855. Otto Mündler held this to be an authentic work by John van Eyck. See CROWE, 1857, p. 98.
1872. CROWE, 113. The numerous details of armour are given with extreme care; the landscape is very attractive.
1893. TSCHUDI, in *Repertorium*, XVI, 101. The types are those of John van Eyck; the treatment of the foreground like that of the Pilgrims and the Hermits in the Ghent polyptych; the colour charming, and the light effects of the setting (!) sun remarkable.
1898. KAEMMERER, 50-52, remarks that in this picture there is much that charms us in the Ghent polyptych, but that the tone is weaker, the perspective of the landscape background unhappy, and the architecture confused. He believes the picture to be an early work contemporary with the Fountain of Living Water, and thinks it may have been painted for the church of the Holy Cross at Bruges, founded by the brothers Peter and James Adornes, after their return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Places in 1427. He says that the arms agree with those of the Honyns, a family allied to the Adornes, and that the picture may have been presented to the church by them. The maternal grandmother of the brothers was a Honyn, but the arms of the two families differ essentially; Commynes bore *Gules* a chevron *or* between three escallops *argent* and a bordure *or*, and Honyn *Sable* a chevron between three escallops *or*, without a bordure.
1899. SEECK, 22, 68. One of Hubert's earliest works. The figures of the angel and the guards give evidence of a rising understanding of living movements to which John never attained. The perspective is faulty; the feet of the soldier furthest from the front are larger than those of his companion in the foreground.
1900. FRIEDLAENDER, in *Repertorium*, XXIII, 246. Remarkable among the works of Van Eyck.
1900. WEALE, in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 5 S., XI, 253.
1900. VOLL, 103-106, assumes this to be a late work, and then goes

on to prove, by comparison with John's paintings, that it cannot have been painted by him.

1901. BODE, 126, 128.

1902. FRIEDLAENDER, in *Repertorium*, xxvi, 68. An early work by John van Eyck, painted before 1425; shows closer points of resemblance than any other painting to the panel representing the Adoration of the Lamb.

1902. DURAND, in *Compte rendu du Congrès de Bruges*, 57.

1902. LAFENESTRE, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 5 P., xi, 135-136.

1902. FRY, in the *Athenæum*, September 20, p. 388.

1902. HULIN says: "This important picture is one of the most precious documents for the history of art. It is clearly by the same hand as the central panels of the Ghent altar-piece. As, on the other hand, it differs in many respects from the authentic works of John, it must, I think, be attributed to Hubert."

1902. HYMANS, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 3 P., xxix, 428

1902. GUIFFREY, 474, describes the angel as *blessing* the holy women, and the sun as *setting*!!

1902. A writer in the *Times Literary Supplement* of November 21, suggests that the view of Jerusalem in the background of this picture was painted from a sketch made on the spot. Mr. A. Marks (1903, January 16) replied that the view could not possibly have been made on the spot, as the walls, pulled down in 1239, were not rebuilt until 1542; moreover, the sun is represented as rising in the west. For further correspondence, see the issues of February 27, March 6, and April 3. It seems far more probable that the painter composed his background on slender information derived from Ludolph of Saxony, or some pilgrim's description of the Holy Places.

1903. M., War Hubert van Eyck in Jerusalem? in *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 24, iv.

1903. FRIEDLAENDER, in *Repertorium*, xxvi, 68.

1903. WEALE, in the *Burlington Magazine*, 1, 42. The rocks and the foliage of the trees, imperfectly rendered, prove this to be an early work.

1903. DE MONT, 49.

1903. DUELBERG, 52.



Hanfstaengl, fotogr

OUR LADY AND CHILD BY A FOUNTAIN
BERLIN: ROYAL GALLERY

1903. ROSEN, 110. The rocks are well painted, not so the pine, the branches of which are represented as springing from the trunk at the same height.
1903. SCHUBERT, 27.
1903. SCHMARSOW, 21.
1904. DVOŘÁK, 177-178, 238.
1905. FIERENS, 115, thinks the picture is posterior to the Van Eycks.
1906. VOLL, 47, declares it to be of several decades' later date than the Van der Paele altar-piece, notwithstanding its many points of resemblance to John van Eyck's works, and the landscape to be more like that in Memlinc's Passion-picture at Turin than to any in the works of John van Eyck.
1907. DURAND, 60.

29. OUR LADY AND CHILD BY A FOUNTAIN

Berlin: Royal Gallery, 525B. Oak. H. 0,57; B. 0,41.

Purchased at Florence by Otto Mündler, who in 1866 sold it to Mr. Suermondt of Aachen, from whom it was acquired by the Gallery in 1874.

Our Lady, seen full face, is represented standing in front of a low wall of masonry, the top of which, level with the soil behind, is overgrown with turf; beyond this is a carefully painted hedge of roses in bloom, and yet further back palm-trees, citrons, cypresses, and evergreen oaks. The Virgin is enveloped in an ample mantle of brownish red, which, but for a small portion of the body and left sleeve, entirely covers her blue dress trimmed with white fur, and falls in elegant folds about her feet. Her head, covered with a transparent white kerchief, is bent lovingly over the Child, whom with both hands she clasps to her bosom. He with His right arm embraces her, while with His left hand, thrown back, He holds

a spray of flowers. The heads of both Mother and Child are encircled with luminous nimbs. On the right stands a bronze fountain, into the basin of which fall four jets of water. A clasped book in a black forel lies on the wall to the left. The foreground is thickly covered with herbage and flowering plants.

Engraved in the Vienna Kunstblatt.

Exhibited: Bruges: Early Netherlandish Masters, 1867, n^o.2.

- 1866. HERIS, in *Journal des Beaux Arts*, VIII, 10, Saint-Nicolas, attributes this painting to Hubert.
- 1867. HOTH0, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, II, 103. An original work by Hubert, which surpasses the Ghent polyptych in the profundity of its conception, as it does anything ever created by John.
- 1868. WAAGEN, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, III, 127, thinks it was painted by John under Hubert's influence, c.1429.
- 1869. BÜRGER, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2 P., I, 10-12.
- 1872. CROWE, 115: "Of doubtful genuineness. The characteristic ugliness of the Virgin's face and Infant's form as surely points to the hand of a disciple, as the broken character of the drapery, the toneless colour, and false perspective."
- 1874. WOLTMANN, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, IX, 195, ascribes it to John.
- 1898. KAEMMERER, 108. The work of an unknown imitator of John van Eyck, who has given the Virgin's features a coarser appearance, suppressed the angels, and substituted roses and trees for the cloth of honour. See n^o.9, pp. 90-92.
- 1899. SEECK, 35, 69, deems this to be a copy of a lost original by Hubert.
- 1903. ROSEN, 94.
- 1903. DE MONT, 58.



Hanjiang, photogr.

OUR LADY AND CHILD
LONDON: EARL OF NORTHBROOK

30. OUR LADY AND CHILD

London : Earl of Northbrook. Oak. H. o,265 ; B. o,19.

Formerly in the collection of E. Joly de Bammerville, n°.29, sold 12 June, 1884, to Nieuwenhuys, from whom it was purchased in 1857 by Mr. Thomas Baring for £120.

The Blessed Virgin, three-quarters length, is seated facing the spectator, beneath a canopy with a cloth of honour of olive green diapered with flowers, bordered with a narrow scarlet band. She wears a dark blue dress and a crimson mantle, both having richly jewelled borders. Her long hair, which falls in undulating masses over her shoulders, is confined by a band fastened above the forehead by a jewel composed of a ruby surrounded by pearls. With her right hand she supports the Divine Child seated nude on a linen cloth. He is accepting from His Mother a bunch of red and white pinks, and with His right hand holds the wing of a struggling parroquet. This little picture is said to have been dated 1437 on the original frame. The back of the panel is painted to imitate stone.

Exhibited : London, Burlington House, Old Masters, 1872, n°.234 ; 1894, n°.180. New Gallery, 1899, n°.69. Bruges : Early Netherlandish Masters, 1902, n°.11.

1889. WEALE. A descriptive catalogue of the collection of pictures belonging to the Earl of Northbrook, 24, n°.25.

1883. WEALE, 66.

1893. TSCHUDI, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xvi, 101.

1902. HULIN, 11. A copy of much later date than 1437 ; it seems to be of the fifteenth century.

1902. DURAND, in *Compte rendu du Congrès de Bruges*, 84-86.
 1903. FRIEDLAENDER, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxvi, 67.
 A weak little picture.
 1903. WEALE, in the *Burlington Magazine*, I, 48.
 1903. DUELBERG, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., xiv, 51.
 1906. VOLL, 33.

31. OUR LADY AND CHILD

New York: Metropolitan Museum. Oak. H. 0,575;
 B. 0,307.

From the collection of William II., King of Holland, at whose sale it was purchased by the dealer Nieuwenhuys for 800 florins. It was subsequently acquired by Mr. A. J. Beresford Hope, at whose sale, May 15, 1886, n^o.30, it fetched £315. It afterwards passed into the hands of Mr. Sellar.

The figures are almost identical with those in John van Eyck's *Virgin by the Fountain*, of 1439 (9), in the Antwerp Museum, save that the position of the Child's left hand is altered. The accessories differ entirely, for here Our Lady is represented standing on the footpace of a throne placed in a late Gothic tabernacle, the pilasters of which are adorned with statuettes of Moses and a prophet and of two female figures symbolizing the Church and the Synagogue, the one holding a cross and a chalice, the other the tables of the Law and a banner, the staff of which is falling to pieces.

From a canopy attached by cords to the buttresses of the tabernacle a cloth of honour of brocaded damask reaches to the ground. On the front of the canopy is embroidered in gold capitals: *Domus Dei est et porta celi*; while the upright



OUR LADY AND CHILD
NEW YORK: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

of the footpace bears the inscription: + *Ipsa est quam pre-paravit Dominus filio Domini mei*. The colour is colder than in John's authenticated paintings, and the architectural details are certainly not earlier than the second half of the fifteenth century. The picture probably dates from about 1460.

Exhibited: Manchester: Art Treasures, 1857, n°.384;
London: Burlington House: Old Masters, 1871, n°.273.

1857. WAAGEN, Galleries, 190: "This admirably preserved picture displays in full measure the solidity of execution of John van Eyck. There is every evidence of its being an early picture by him. The folds of the drapery still retain that purity of taste which he afterwards exchanged for sharp and arbitrary breaks, while the unskilfully foreshortened mouth, and the too large nose of the Virgin, betray his lack of practice."

1866. MICHIELS, II, 318.

1869. BÜRGER, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2 P., I, 11.

1872. CROWE, 114: "The colour of the various parts is thin and cold, grey in shadow, and wholly without glazing; the handling is mechanical; the forms of the Virgin and Infant are feeble. . . . If this were really by Van Eyck, it might be truly called one of his poorest productions."

1887. CONWAY, 139. "Painted by John himself."

1895. BODE, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., VI, 17. Not by John's own hand.

1898. KAEMMERER, 108, mentions Peter Christus as possibly the painter of this picture.

1899. SEECK, 41.

1900. VOLL, 127.

1903. DE MONT, 58.

1905. FIERENS, 164. A dryly painted work, which may fairly be ascribed to Peter Christus.

32. THE FOUNTAIN OF LIVING WATER

Madrid: Prado Gallery, 2188B. Panel, H. 1,81; B. 1,30.

From the Hieronymite convent of Our Lady of Parral, near Segovia; removed to Madrid from the sacristy in 1838, and placed in the National Museum, and removed thence to the Prado in 1872.

This altar-piece in composition somewhat resembles the Ghent polyptych. It is divided into stages corresponding with the general plan of Netherlandish sculptured altar-pieces, as also with that adopted by the playwrights of mediæval Mystery-plays, for which the Low Countries were so long celebrated.

In the uppermost of three stages the Eternal Father is seated on a throne in a tabernacle surmounted by a lofty pinnacled canopy adorned with seventeen statues of prophets. He is clad in imperial robes, with a crown on His head and a sceptre in His left hand, the right raised in the act of blessing. At His feet reposes the Lamb, and, on the principals of the throne, the evangelistic animals. On the right and left are the Blessed Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist, both seated reading. From beneath the throne of God flows a stream of crystalline purity down through a flowery meadow into an octagonal canopied well in the lowest stage. On its surface float innumerable hosts. In the meadow are seated six angels, three on each side of the stream, playing diverse instruments of music—an organ, a monochord and a viol; a mandoline, a psalterion and a harp—and beyond them, in the lowest story of the lofty turreted pediments



THE FOUNTAIN OF LIVING WATER
MADRID: PRADO GALLERY

which enclose the scene, two choirs of angels are singing hymns of praise. One of the singing angels on the left holds a scroll bearing the words: *can. 4. Fons ortorum puteus aquarum vivencium.*

On the right of the fountain stands a pope holding a tall cross, and pointing to the well of grace; behind him a cardinal, a bishop, an emperor, a king, and six other ecclesiastics and laymen, those in the foreground kneeling on the tiled pavement, the others standing. On the left are a crowd of Jews, one of whom, a venerable old man, kneels with a staff in his right hand; a high priest, blind-folded, from whose grasp the broken staff of a banner is falling to the ground, seems to be remonstrating with the kneeling man on whose arm he lays his left hand. Of eight other Jews, two are falling to the ground in consternation; a third is walking proudly away; the others, with hands to their ears, or rending their garments, are fleeing from the source of grace.

This work is an old copy of a lost original which adorned the chapel of Saint Jerome in the cathedral of Palencia, where it still hung in 1783, as recorded by Ponz, who describes it in the following terms: "Una pintura muy singular, como lo es su conservacion, y trabajo de infinita prolixidad, qual parece imposible ver cosa igual en el estilo antiguo, ó dígase Aleman, al modo del de Durero; pero en la inteligencia de que poco hay de este artifice tan acabado. Su composicion y lo que esta significa es dificil de comprehender á primera vista. Parece el complemento de las Profecías, destruccion de la Sinagoga, y establecimiento de la ley de Gracia. A un lado se ve un Sacerdote de la Ley Antigua

con estandarte roto, y algunos Doctores, ó Rabinos con muy tristes semblantes. Al otro estan los Doctores de la Iglesia Griega y Latina. Encima, la Santisima Trinidad, y á los lados nuestra Señora, S. Juan Bautista, Apóstoles, y otras figuras: descende un arroyo con muchas hostias sobre el agua, que caen en una taza, con otras alegorías, que seria largo referir. Ello es, que en su termino es pintura muy rara, y estimable, de la qual he visto algunas copias en Castilla, pero infinitamente distantes de la exácta execucion de esta.”
—*Viage de España*, XI, 155, Madrid, 1783.

The original disappeared at some period before 1815.
Chromolithograph by R. Soldevila, H. o,36 ; B. o,23.

- 1853. PASSAVANT, *Die Christliche Kunst in Spanien*, 127, Leipzig, attributes this painting to Hubert.
- 1858. HOTH, II, 73, also ascribes it to Hubert, and dates it between 1413 and 1418.
- 1860. WAAGEN, I, 35-37.
- 1860. FOERSTER, *Denkmale Deutschen Kunst*, VI, 17-20, Leipzig.
- 1863. RUELENS, XCV.
- 1864. WORNUM, 110, by Hubert or John, or by the two in collaboration.
- 1866. MICHIELS, II, 173, thinks the design was made by Hubert, and the painting executed by John and Margaret!!
- 1867. ROUSSEAU, in *Bulletin des Commissions Royales d'Art*, VI, 316, 332. Bruxelles.
- 1868. WAAGEN, in *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, I, 39. Leipzig.
- 1869. BÜRGER, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2 P., I, 10. After a careful study of this picture on several occasions, he expresses his absolute conviction that it was painted by John. He informs us that he saw at Paris, in the hands of the dealer Haro, an old copy

signed  .

- 1872. CROWE, 96, calls it the noblest of John van Eyck's great works.
- 1879. SCHNAASE, 139-142.



D. Anderson, photo.

THE FOUNTAIN OF LIVING WATER: THE CHURCH
MADRID: PRADO GALLERY



D. Anderson, photo.

THE FOUNTAIN OF LIVING WATER. THE SYNAGOGUE
MADRID: PRADO GALLERY

1879. WOLTMANN, II, 25, believes it to be a copy painted c.1450.
1881. LUEBKE, 67.
1875. MADRAZO, El Triunfo de la Iglesia sobre la Sinagoga, in *Museo Español de Antigüedades*, IV, 1-40, Madrid. He attributes this picture to John van Eyck, and says it was given to the convent of Parral in 1454 by Henry IV., son of John II. of Castile, and he quotes a manuscript *Fundacion del Parral* in the Provincial Library at Segovia, in which, at fol. liv, this painting is described as *Un retablo rico da pincel de Flandes que tiene la ystoria de la Dedicacion de la Yglesia*.
1884. HYMANS, Le Livre des Peintres de C. van Mander, *Commentaires*, I, 47.
1885. F. SCHNEIDER, Das Eyck'sche Bild im Museum zu Madrid. In *Der Kunstfreund*, 246. Berlin.
1887. L. SOLVAY, L'Art Espagnol, 94-96. Paris.
1887. BODE, 210, is of opinion that it is a copy of a lost picture by Hubert.
1887. JUSTI, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XXII, 245-250.
1887. CONWAY, 136-140.
1893. HYMANS, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 3 P., IX, 380, finds this painting cold, and says that Van Eyck can have had nothing to do with either its composition or execution.
1898. KAEMMERER, 48, concludes from the dogmatic (!) appearance of the picture, that the commission for its execution must have been given by some eminent Spaniard, and thinks it may have been painted by Peter Christus.
1899. SEECK, 22, 68, thinks it most likely to be a copy of an original by Hubert.
1900. WEALE, in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 5 S., XI, 284, and *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 3 P., XXV, 477.
1901. BODE, 131, not by Christus.
1903. DE MONT, 52.
1904. DVOŘÁK, 243.
1905. FIERENS, 114.
1906. VOLL, 273.

33. THE HOLY FACE

John van Eyck is said to have painted a representation of the Holy Face. The original is now lost.

33A. Munich: Royal Gallery, 99 (643). Oak. H. 0,50;
B. 0,37.

Formerly in the Boisserée collection.

The head of Christ seen full face; the hair, parted in the middle, falls in long curly locks on the shoulders and breast; the beard is forked; the cruciform nimbus floriated. The gold border of the red robe bears what is apparently meant for Adonai Eloy Agla. Dark background, on which, above

אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ

the nimbus, א and ω. The frame, original, painted to imitate stone, bears at the head PRIMVS NOVISSIMVS, and at the foot VIA VITA VERITAS. The back of the panel is painted black.

This, formerly attributed to Memlinc, is, in the writer's opinion, the earliest and best copy of a lost original probably painted by Hubert.

1866. MICHIELS, II, 321.

1906. VOLL, 44, considers this painting to be the best representation of a lost original by John.



THE HOLY FACE
MUNICH: ROYAL GALLERY



THE HOLY FACE

BERLIN: ROYAL GALLERY

By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

33B. Berlin: Royal Gallery, 528. Oak. H. 0,51; B. 0,39.

Originally in a convent at Burgos, afterwards at Segovia and in the Solly collection; acquired in 1821.

A similar representation to that at Munich, but the inscription on the neck-band of the robe is + REX + REGVM +. Bluish-green background, on which A and W above, and their Latin equivalents Î and F̃ for *Initium* and *Finis* below, the arms of the nimbus. The frame, original, painted in imitation of yellow marble, bears at the head: VIA VERITAS VITA; and at the foot: PRIMVS ET NOVISSIMVS. Above the latter, in minuscules: *Iohannes de Eyck me fecit et apleuiit anno 1438 31 Ianuarij.*

1822. WAAGEN, 206.

1833. PASSAVANT, 352.

1834. SCHNAASE, 343.

1847. KUGLER, II, 108, doubts the authenticity of this painting.

1853. FOERSTER, *Geschichte der Deutsche Kunst*, II, 70.

1858. HOTH, II, 192, thinks this was painted by John after the Eternal Father by Hubert at Ghent.

1860. WAAGEN, 71, says that this painting shows how closely John adhered to the early type, while developing his warm and powerful colouring and peculiar mastery over detail.

1866. MICHIELS, II, 320.

1872. CROWE, III, accepts this painting as being by John, who, he says, in attempting a subject above his strength, was even less successful than his brother.

1882. WOLTMANN, II, 20; powerfully painted.

1887. BODE, 214. The least precious of John's works; the charming colour does not compensate for the want of feeling for nature.

1898. KAEMMERER, 99, doubts its authenticity.

1899. SEECK, IO, 27, 33. A free copy of the head by Hubert at

Ghent; the weakest and least important of all John's works; the signature indubitable.

1900. VOLL, 100, 132.

1904. TSCHUDI, 78.

1905. FIERENS, 163, waxes enthusiastic, and gives this painting exaggerated praise.

1905. DURAND, 33, considers it to be the work of a pupil of Hubert or a copy of a lost work by that master.

1906. VOLL, 43, thinks this work was painted c.1500.

33c. Bruges: Town Gallery. Oak. H. 0,325; B. 0,26.

Presented in 1788 by M. Joseph De Busscher.

A similar representation; the robe bordered at the neck with gold lace studded with pearls and precious stones. Enclosed within a painted imitation of a molded stone frame with inscriptions in the hollows. At the head: *Ihesus via: Ihesus veritas: Ihesus vita.*

·IHESVS VIA· ·IHS VERITAS·
·IHESVS VITA·

At the foot: *Speciosus forma præ filiis hominum. Als ich can. Iohannes de Eyck inventor anno 1440, 30 Ianuarii.*

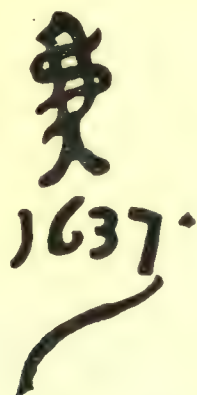
SPECIOS⁹ FORMÆ P̄FILII HŌIM ·A·E·D·H·X·A·N·
·Johes de eyck Inūentor· anno· 1440· 30 Ianuary·

The third figure of the date may have been a 2, but more probably a 4. This painting is hard, cold, and dry, and destitute of feeling. The original doubtless had a molded frame



THE HOLY FACE
BRUGES: TOWN GALLERY

painted to imitate stone. The painter of this copy evidently did not comprehend John's device. On the reverse of the panel is the device of the painter of this copy, or of an early owner, and the date 1637.



- 1833. PASSAVANT, 352. Wanting in perfection, and appears doubtful.
- 1834. SCHNAASE, 342. The colour falls short of the Eyckian standard, and the employment of *inventor* appears strange.
- 1847. KUGLER, 109 ; shows a want of skill in the handling.
- 1847. MONTAIGLON, 4.
- 1857. CROWE, 103. A superficial imitation.
- 1858. HOTH0, II, 164. A late copy.
- 1861. WEALE, 18-20.
- 1866. MICHIELS, II, 225. Posterior to 1550, and destitute of merit.
- 1872. CROWE, 123. Apparently a reduced facsimile of the 1438 painting at Berlin.
- 1879. FOERSTER. Die Deutsche Kunst in Bild und Wort, 160. Leipzig.
- 1899. SEECK, 27. The weakest and most insignificant of all John's works.
- 1905. FIERENS, 124, thinks this may be a very early work, but possibly a replica of the Berlin panel!! At all events, it does not deserve the absolute disdain meted out to it by certain critics. If the hair is feebly painted, the beard is painted with great care, and the red mantle (*sic*) and gold-work are well painted.
- 1906. VOLL, 43-44.

33D. Innsbruck. Professor Dr. Egon von Oppolzer. Oak.
H. 0,395. B. 0,285.

Formerly in the Abel collection at Stuttgart; sold as a work of Roger Van der Weyden, at Coeln, October 9, 1863, for £20 10s., to Mr. John M. Parsons (d. 1870). It afterwards came into the possession of Mr. von Oppolzer at Munich, at the sale of whose collection, December 3, 1905, it was purchased by Dr. von Oppolzer for £392 10s.

A similar representation; the robe dark red, bordered at the neck with a narrow band of plaited gold lace. Blue ground with A and W above the nimbus. A late fifteenth-century painting in excellent preservation.

1863. WEALE, in *Le Beffroi*, I, 349.

1906. VOLL, 44.

1906. R. VON LICHTENBERG and E. VON OPPOLZER, Katalog.

34. HEAD OF A MAN

Berlin: Royal Gallery, 523C. Oak. H. 0,115; B. 0,088.

Purchased at Florence.

Bust of a man, the face seen in three-quarters, turned slightly to the right. He has a brown beard, small eyes, and broad rosy cheeks, and wears, over an underdress of which only the stand-up collar is seen, a dull lilac-red robe trimmed with fur, and a dark-green headkerchief, the lappets of which fall behind his ears.

This does not appear to be a portrait, but most probably the head of a figure out of some large composition.



PORTRAIT OF A DONOR
LEIPZIG: TOWN MUSEUM

1899. SEECK, 23.

1900. VOLL, 122. Not by Van Eyck.

1901. BODE, 131. Like the head of one of the figures in the 'Fountain of Living Water' (31); the flesh tone, owing to over-cleaning, is not so red as usual.

35. A DONOR

Leipzig: Town Museum, 511. Oak. H. 0,264. B. 0,195.

Bequeathed to the Museum in 1878 by Madame Amelia von Ritzenberg.

Portrait of an elderly man in a wig, praying with his hands joined and raised; the face, turned to left, seen in three-quarters, small eyes, thick lips, and a long broad nose. He wears a green fur-trimmed robe.

1890. BREDIUS, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., 1, 129.

1898. KAEMMERER, 104.

1899. SEECK, 31, 60.

1900. VOLL, 121-122. Not by Van Eyck.

1901. BODE, 120.

1905. FIERENS, 153.

1905. DURAND, 33.

1907. HYMANS, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3 P., xxxviii, 207, calls this man a canon, but his dress is that of a layman.

36. PORTRAIT OF AN ECCLESIASTIC

Greystoke Castle, Penrith: H. C. Howard, Esq. H. 0,095;
B. 0,085.

Formerly in the collection of Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel. It came later into the possession of Lord Henry Thomas Howard Molyneux Howard, and has remained until now in the possession of his descendants at Greystoke.

A fragment of a large panel picture or of the dexter shutter of a triptych, representing little more than the head of a donor, a canon in a blue cassock trimmed with fur, and a plaited lawn surplice, kneeling and protected by his patron saint, probably one of the apostles, whose hand rests on the donor's head; only the hand of the saint and part of his purple mantle, lined with green, are seen. The donor has hazel eyes and grey hair; his face is admirably modelled, and the pleats of the flesh are marked by fine strokes; the colour, though rather cold, is brilliant and harmonious; the entire fragment is in excellent preservation.

Engraved in reverse, when in Lord Arundel's possession, by Wenceslaus Hollar, who omitted the patron saint's hand, added hands to the figure of the donor, represented his head as cleft by a sword, and then published the print (H. 0,093; B. 0,057) as a true likeness of Saint Thomas of Canterbury. The head has also been engraved in reverse, without the sword within an oval, by L. Vorsterman, with the legend: *Effigies S. Thomæ Cantuar. Archiepi. Mart.*

Exhibited: British Institution, Ancient Masters, 1858, n°.125. Guildhall, Netherlandish Masters, 1906, n°.6.

1858. G. SCHARF, Artistic and Descriptive Notes of the Pictures in the British Institution, 32-33, says that "this picture may possibly be assigned to Justus of Ghent," *i.e.* Jodoc van Wassenhove.

1898. KAEMMERER, 56.

1904. WEALE, in the *Burlington Magazine*, VI, 249.

1906. FRIEDLAENDER, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIX, 574, calls this portrait a dry, cold work, which has nothing to do with John van Eyck.

1907. DURAND, in *Les Arts anciens*, II, 63.

37. AN OLD MAN

Alfred Brown, Esq. Oak. H. 0,254; B. 0,201.

From the collection of James Osmaston.

Half-length portrait of an old man turned slightly to the left, seen nearly full face, looking up, with his hands joined in prayer; the modelling of these is weak. He has thin grey hair; the beard closely shaven, but with stubble on chin, and rather feeble blue eyes. He is clad in a loose red dress trimmed with fur. His head-dress is not seen, but its lappet hangs down in front from his left shoulder.

Dark-grey background, over-painted.

This portrait certainly dates from the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

Exhibited: Burlington House, Old Masters, 1879, n°.218; Guildhall, Netherlandish Masters, 1906, n°.4.

1906. FRIEDLAENDER, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIX, 574.

A good work dating from c.1450, in manner near to Dirk Bouts, especially in the form of the hands and the truthful expression of the lean head.

LOST PAINTINGS

THERE can be no doubt that the Van Eycks painted many more pictures than those described in the present volume. Mention of works attributed to them have come down to us; some of these they certainly executed. Drawings are also preserved of portraits, some of which at least must have been painted by Hubert or John.

Alphonsus V. of Aragon, King of Naples, as we are told by Facio writing in 1454, had in his possession a triptych, on the shutters of which were portraits of John Baptist Lomellini and Jeronima his wife; the Annunciation, Saint John the Baptist and Saint Jerome being represented on the interior, the latter in his study surrounded by books painted with marvellous realism.¹

Facio also tells us that John painted for Duke Philip a curious representation of the world in its spherical shape—a work unsurpassed by any other executed in his time, as it not only showed the various countries and localities, but figured them at the correct distances from each other, as might be tested by measuring.²

¹ See p. lxxiii. The Lomellini were a Genoese family, whose arms were : Per fesse *gules* and *or*. The only member of the family bearing the name of Jerome, of whom I have found mention in contemporary documents, was a merchant living at Bruges in 1392.

² See p. lxxiii.



THE ARCHDUCES ALBERT AND ISABELLA VISITING THE GALLERY OF C. VAN DER GEEST, ANTWERP, 1613

HEVENINGHAM HALL. PAINTING BY W. VAN HAECHE

By permission of Lord Haverley

Octavian, a member of the Florentine family of the Ottaviani, created cardinal by Gregory XII. in 1408,¹ had in his possession some remarkable paintings by John. One of these represented women of noble form coming out of a warm bath, slightly veiled with fine linen drapery; of one only the face and breast were seen, but a mirror reflected the back of her head and body. In the same picture a light was shown as if really burning; also, an old woman perspiring, a dog lapping water, and in a landscape, horses and men, mountains, groves, villages and castles, so skilfully painted that they appeared to be far distant from each other. Nothing in this picture was more wonderful than the mirror in which every detail was reflected accurately as in a real mirror.²

A similar subject was in the collection of works of art formed by Cornelius Van der Geest of Antwerp, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. A copy of this is seen in a painting by William van Haecht, dated 1628, representing the visit of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella to the Gallery on the 15th of August, 1516, in the company of Rubens and other notabilities. It shows the nude figure of a maiden at her toilet, standing near a window. At her left an attendant stands holding a water-bottle. She is clad in a red dress with long white under-sleeves, and a crespine head-dress, over which a linen kerchief is spread. A Bolognese dog lies on a mat in the foreground, and close by are a couple of pattens of white wood with black leather latchets. Against

¹ See CHACON, *Vitae et res gestae Pontificum Summorum*, II, 771. Romae, 1677.

² See p. lxxiii. This picture afterwards belonged to Frederick I. Duke of Urbino. MÜNTZ, *Raphael*, p. 5, note 1.

the window hangs a mirror, in which the two figures and surrounding objects are reflected.¹

The Town Museum at Leipzig contains a beautifully executed picture (Oak. H. 0,21; B. 0,16) of the middle of the fifteenth century, which may possibly be a free copy of a lost original by John. In the middle of a room a maiden is seen standing near a fireplace, nude save for a long thin scarf which falls from her right arm and encircles her lower limbs. With a steel in her left hand she strikes a flint held in her right, and at the same time squeezes a sponge; the sparks and the drops of water fall on a wax heart that lies in an open coffer placed on a three-legged stool at her side. Five scrolls float in the air or lie about the floor of the chamber, which is strewn with flowers; a Bolognese dog lies on a mat in the foreground. To the right, an aumbry, on which are a salver with comfits, a glass goblet, and a long fringed cloth; and on a shelf beneath, a beaker in a dish; above, two windows, the upper part alone glazed. On the wall between them hangs a mirror, with a feather dusting-brush beneath it; a parakeet is perched on the window-sill. In the background to the left a youth, pushing the door open, is entering the room; to the right is a cupboard, in which are a hanap and a flagon; on a shelf above are a book, and a number of pots and other articles.²

¹ Van Haecht's painting (Oak. H. 1,00; B. 1,30) is in the possession of Lord Huntingfield, who exhibited it at Burlington House, Old Masters, 1907, n°.52, and at Bruges, Golden Fleece, n°.173. See notices in the *Athenæum* of January 26 and February 9, 1907, pp. 109 and 174.

² See H. LÜCKE, Liebeszauber Flandrische Gemälde, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, xvii, 379-383, 1882.



A LADY AT HER TOILET

DETAIL FROM A GALLERY PICTURE BY W. VAN HAECHT, 1628
HEVENINGHAM HALL: LORD HUNTINGFIELD

Alphonsus V. of Aragon had, besides the Lomellini triptych, a painting representing Saint George, for which, on June 25, 1445, he paid 2000 sueldos.¹

Among the paintings in the Duke of Uceda's palace, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, there was a small panel of Our Lady and Child by John van Eyck, which Palomino describes as a work of supreme excellence and exquisite finish.²

Don Diego de Guevara possessed a portrait painted on cloth in tempera by John van Eyck, which he, before 1516, presented to Margaret of Austria, Governess of the Netherlands. It represented a Portuguese maiden clad in a red dress trimmed with fur, holding in her right hand a roll with a miniature of Saint Nicholas at the head.³ A copy of this

¹ See the important document ordering the payment of this sum, published by CASELLAS, *La Novela den Sanpere*, ix, in the *Veu de Catalunya*. Barcelona, 1906.

² "Una pintura de una imagen de Nuestra Señora, con el Niño Jesus, en una tabla pequeña, de mano del referido Juan de Brujas, de una tercia de alto, y quarto de ancho, hecha con estremado primor y sutileza." A. A. PALOMINO DE CASTRO Y VALASCO, *El Museo pictorico*, I, 47. Madrid, 1715.

³ "Ung moiien tableau de la face d'une Portugaloise que Madame a eu de Don Diego. Fait de la main de Iohannes, et est fait sans huelle et sur toile, sans couverte ne feullet." *Inventaire des Peintures*, etc., de Marguerite d'Autriche, dressé en 1516. Lille: Archives of the Department of the North, B 3507. "Ung aultre tableau de une jeusne dame, accoustrée à la mode de Portugal, son habit rouge fouré de martre, tenant en sa main dextre ung rolet avec ung petit saint Nicolas en hault, nommée La belle Portugaloise." *Inventaire des Peintures*, etc., de Marguerite d'Autriche, dressé en son palais de Malines, le 9 Juillet, 1523." Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Colbert.

portrait is said to be in the collection of M. Abbegg, at Mannheim.

Margaret of Austria had also a painting of Our Lady by John, which had belonged to Duke Philip.¹

In the beginning of the sixteenth century there was at Padua, in the house of Messer Leonico Tomeo, a painting on canvas, one foot high, representing an otter-hunt, with various figures in a landscape, attributed to John.² Such a scene is depicted in a contemporary tapestry at Hardwick.³

In the church of Our Lady of the Servites at Venice, there were, in 1580, a Nativity and an Adoration of the Magi by John.⁴

Among the portraits of contemporaries of the Van Eycks, of which copies have been preserved, there are some which may with great probability be ascribed to one or other of the brothers. One of the earliest is that of Michael of France, first wife of Duke Philip III. (married June, 1409, died July, 1422). She is represented seen in three-quarters, turned to the left, clad in a plain dress, within the wide sleeves of which her hands are laid one upon the other. This portrait was in the possession of Denis de Villers,⁵ chancellor of the cathedral

¹ "Ung tableaul de Nostre Dame, du duc Philippe, qui est venu de Maillardet, couvert de satin bronché gris et ayant fermaulx d'argent doré et bordé de velours vert. Fait de la main de Iohannes." *Inventaire des Peintures, etc., de Marguerite d'Autriche, dressé en 1516.* Lille: Archives of the Department of the North, B 3507.

² M. A. MICHIEL, *Notizia d'Opere del disegno.*

³ Reproduced in the *Artworkers' Quarterly*, 1, 77. London, 1902.

⁴ SANSOVINO, *Descrizione di Venezia.* Venezia, 1580.

⁵ Denis de Villers, born at Tournay in 1546, doctor of laws of the University of Louvain and protonotary apostolic, was in 1586, after the death of Bishop Morillon, elected chancellor by the chapter.



A. Giraudon photo.

BONNE OF ARTOIS, DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY, 1424-1425

of Tournay, in whose house it was copied by Anthony de Succa¹ on the 5th of December, 1601. At the head of the sheet of paper on which it is drawn is the following inscription: "Dame Michiele de France, fille du Roy Charles V. de France, et première femme de monseigneur le duc Phelipe de Bourgonde, comte de Flandres, dict le bon, fils du ducq Jehan. Laquelle ala de vie à trespas le . . . Levé ceste effigie au logis de Monsieur le chancellier Villers du chapitre de l'église de Nostre Dame à Tournay le 5^e jour de Décembre 1601, par moy Anthoine de Succa." Succa, evidently not quite satisfied with his copy of this remarkable figure, added a more carefully finished copy of the head at the side.

In the store-room of the Royal Gallery at Berlin there is a half-length portrait (Oak. H. 0,21 ; B. 0,16) of Bonne, daughter of Philip of Artois, Count of Eu, and of Mary, daughter of John, Duke of Berry, the second wife of Duke Philip (married November 30, 1424, died September 17, 1425). This, if I am not mistaken, was formerly in the collection of Simon Peter van Overloope, at whose sale at Bruges, May 7, 1770, it fetched 32 frs. 65 c. The duchess is represented

He was a distinguished scholar, and had a remarkable collection of paintings, medals, and Greek and Roman antiquities, which he bequeathed, together with his manuscripts and printed books, to the cathedral—now the town—library, founded by himself and canon Jerome de Winghe, abbot of Liessies. Catalogues of the books of each of these benefactors are preserved.

¹ Anthony de Succa, inscribed in 1598 as free-master in the register of the Antwerp gild of Saint Luke, was, by letters patent dated October 11, 1600, commissioned by the Archdukes Albert and Isabella to visit churches, convents, etc., and copy portraits, statues, tombs, etc., of sovereigns of the Netherlands and members of their families. Succa died September 8, 1620.

turned to the right, her face seen in three-quarters; her arms and hands resting on a parapet. She wears a full-sleeved fur-trimmed dress open in front, and a crespine head-dress, over which is spread a linen kerchief. A ring adorns the fourth finger of her right hand. On the front of the parapet is the legend: "Dame Bonne Dartois la Duchesse de Bourgogne." A drawing in the Leboucq Collection,¹ here reproduced, is a copy either of this or of the original painting.

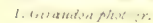
In the possession of Denis de Villers there were a number of other portraits besides that of Michael of France described above. Of these the most interesting is that of Isabella of Portugal, third wife of Duke Philip (d. 1473),² as it at once suggests the surmise that it may have been one of the two portraits painted by John at the palace of Aviz, in 1429. The duchess is clad in a wide-sleeved robe, confined at the waist by a broad sash, and has a crespine head-dress, over which is spread a large kerchief; her face, seen in three-quarters turned to the right, has suffered from rubbing. It is certainly an early portrait, with a pleasing expression. On the same sheet of paper as this is a portrait of Jacqueline of Bavaria, the face seen in three-quarters turned to the right, her hands joined in prayer; she wears a full-sleeved dress trimmed with fur, open in front, and confined at the waist by a plain sash. A crespine head-dress completes her costume. This is, with the exception of the miniature in the Turin Hours, the earliest

¹ Arras, Town Library, MS. 266.

² In the margin: "Isabel de Portugal, 3^e espeuse du duc Phelipe de Bourgonde." That in the Louvre, first identified by M. G. Hulin, in 1902, and the original from which that in the Museum of Ghent is a copy, are certainly of later date.



ISABELLA OF PORTUGAL, DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY, 1429-1472



BORN 1401 ; DIED 1436



JACQUELINE OF BAVARIA
COPENHAGEN: ROYAL GALLERY



PORTRAIT OF A LADY
FRANKFORT: STAEDEL INSTITUTE

representation of that unfortunate princess, dating in all probability from about the time of her second marriage, April 4, 1418.¹ De Villers also possessed a portrait of her second husband, John IV., Duke of Brabant (d. 1427), a half-length figure turned to the right, the face seen in three-quarters;² and another of his brother Philip, Duke of Brabant (d. 1430), the face seen in three-quarters turned to the left.³

The Royal Gallery at Copenhagen contains a sixteenth-century copy of a half-length portrait of Jacqueline (Oak. H. 0,75; B. 0,41), said to have been painted by John van Eyck. Dollmayr⁴ and Glück⁵ attribute this copy to John Mostaert of Harlem. In this portrait the countess, turned to the left, her face seen in three-quarters, wears a loose robe of cloth of gold lined with ermine, the wide sleeves of which, turned over

¹ In the margin: "Dame Jacoba de Baviere fille Comte de Haynaut, Hollande, Zeelande et de Frise, dame de diceulx pays, espeuse a Jehan duc de Lothric, Brabant, Lembourg, aîné fils du duc Anthoine de Brabant." At the foot is the following certificate in the chancellor's hand: "L'an 1601, le 5 de Décembre, passant par Tournay, le S^e Antoine de Succa tira de mon logis copies de figures designées en ceste feuille de papier, tesmoing mon nom, Denis de Villers." SUCCA, *Mémoriaux*, fol. 7.

² The original, or more probably a copy of the original of this portrait, was formerly at Louvain. See DE RAM, Note sur un portrait du Duc de Brabant, Jean IV., ayant appartenu à la gilde des arbaletriers de Louvain, in *Bulletins de la Commission royale d'Histoire*, 3 S., 1, 295, with a chromolithograph, Brussels, 1860; also E. VAN EVEN, Louvain dans le passé et dans le présent, 549-550. Louvain, 1895.

³ Signed: "Levé ces figures en Tonray à la maison de Mons. de Vilers chancelier." SUCCA, *Mémoriaux*, fol. 7.

⁴ *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen*, XIX, 298. Wien.

⁵ Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte, 68-69, Wien, 1903; and in *Mitteilungen des Gesellschaft für vervielfältigen Kunst*, 1, 1. Wien, 1905.

at the wrists, let those of a close-fitting heraldic dress be seen; these show the colours of the Wittelsbach dynasty: Fusilly in bend *argent* and *azure*. Her arms rest on a parapet. In her right hand, laid on the left in an affected position, she holds a pink; a ring adorns the little finger. Her hair, brushed back off the forehead, is confined in two cauls of silken material blazoned with the arms of Hainault: Quarterly, 1 and 2 *or* a lion rampant *sable*, 2 and 3 *or* a lion rampant *gules*; and bordered with a triple row of pearls and precious stones; and over this is laid a cambric veil dependent behind.¹ The Print-room of the Städel Institute at Frankfort contains a silver-point drawing on paper of a lady, formerly ascribed to Roger De la Pasture, and said to be the portrait of his wife. This Glück considers to be an original study from life of dame Jacqueline, but it appears to me to be a copy.² A drawing in the Leboucq Collection at Arras represents her at about the same age, turned to the right, the face seen in three-quarters, her hands laid one upon the other.

¹ Kaemmerer (1898, p. 47) thinks the original of this portrait may have been painted by John van Eyck at the Hague, in 1422 or 1423; but Jacqueline would certainly not have gone near that town after 1418, for fear of falling into the clutches of her pitiless uncle. Moreover, this portrait represents a woman of at least 20 to 25 years of age.

² E. W. MOES, *Iconographia Batava*, 1, 480, Amsterdam, 1897, mentions several other portraits of the countess. In the most interesting of these, painted after her marriage to Frank van Borsselen, 1433, now in the Amsterdam Museum, she wears the collar of the Order of Saint Anthony.

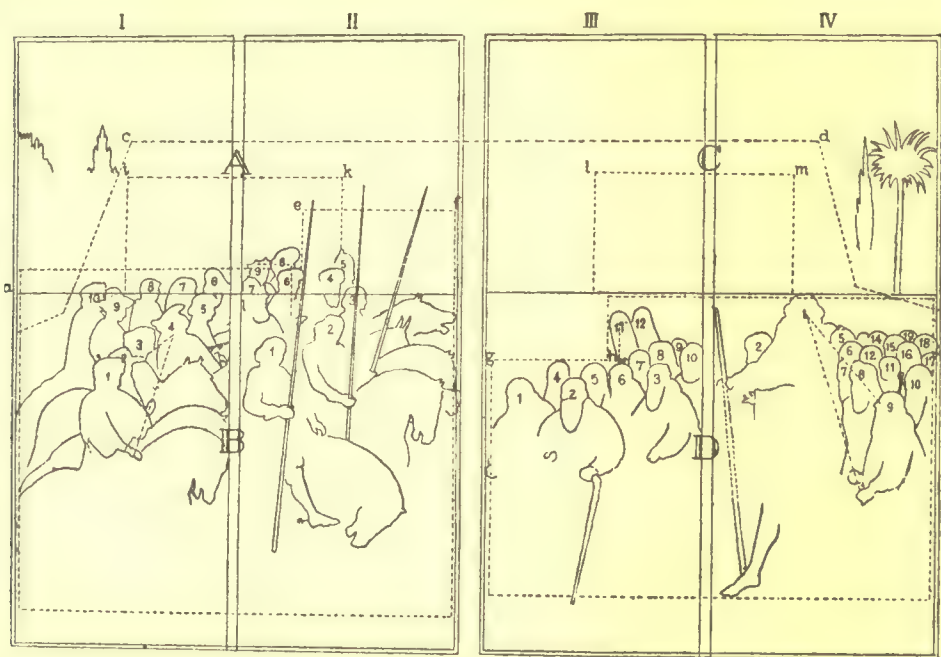
OBSERVATIONS

OUR readers will have noticed how widely the critics disagree, not only as to which of the paintings that lack documentary authentication are by Hubert or John, or by the two working in collaboration, but also as to the date at which they were executed; that assigned varying from before 1422 until 1441, and in several cases even to a much later date. And yet almost all these critics, relying on one or other point, confidently decides the date and authorship of each painting.

Our real knowledge at present is very limited, being strictly confined to the following data. The polyptych was designed and partly painted by Hubert, and completed in 1432 by John, who, at various dates from 1431 to 1441, designed and painted eleven works—five portraits and six pictures—the last of the latter being left unfinished at his death on the 9th of July, 1441. What are the features in these pictures which can help us to form a correct opinion as to the probable authorship and date of the remainder? I think these are: (1) the composition and lighting; (2) the landscape and flora; (3) the architecture; (4) the linear perspective; and (5) the costume.

(1) *Composition*.—As regards the Ghent polyptych, the only painting on which it is known for certain that both brothers worked, is there in the composition of the different portions anything to warrant the inference of dual design? The composition of the entire work is strictly symmetrical; this,

as far as concerns the exterior, the upper zone and the lower central panel, is at the first glance seen to be the case. Not so in the inner face of the shutter-panels of the lower zone, as Laban (1898) has shown, by a comparison of the details. In these, although the arrangement is in fact symmetrical, such symmetry is ingeniously concealed. The following are a few of the examples he gives (the numbers refer to the reduced



copy of the key illustrating his essay). In panel II. the three younger knights (1, 2, 3) ride in front, and their elders follow; in III. the three eldest hermits (1, 2, 3) march at the head, their juniors bring up the rear; one of the young knights (2) bends his head, the other two hold theirs up; one of the hermits (2) raises his head, the other two bend theirs down. That this curious system has been followed throughout these

panels may be seen by intercomparison of our photogravures; it extends even to the colouring,—when red has been used on the dexter panels, the corresponding details in the sinister shutters are blue, and *vice versa*. Laban concludes, apparently from this diversity, that these four panels were not designed by the same hand as the remainder. Is it not quite possible that Hubert intended to symbolize the various and often apparently contradictory ways followed in this life by those who are really united in striving to attain to the heavenly kingdom, where alone perfect harmony reigns? In any case, as no painting by John presents a similar system, its adoption here cannot be ascribed to him, nor does it help us to distinguish his work from that of his brother. Nor will an examination of the paintings representing interiors afford us any better guidance.

Lighting.—The lighting of the Virgin's room on the exterior of the Ghent polyptych, of the interiors 3, 5, 6, 16, 20, 21, and the central and dexter panels of 18 is excellent, whereas in the sinister shutter of the last, the light falls on Saint Katherine's face, although she is standing with her back to the window, and in the picture of the Three Marys at the Sepulchre (28) the background is lighted from the right, the foreground from the left.¹ Are we to conclude, with Mr. Marks, that these were painted by the two brothers working in collaboration? or to look, with M. Durand, on these deviations as due to distraction?

(2) *Landscape and Flora.*—The landscapes in the Ghent polyptych, as in all the Eyckian paintings, are artificial; the

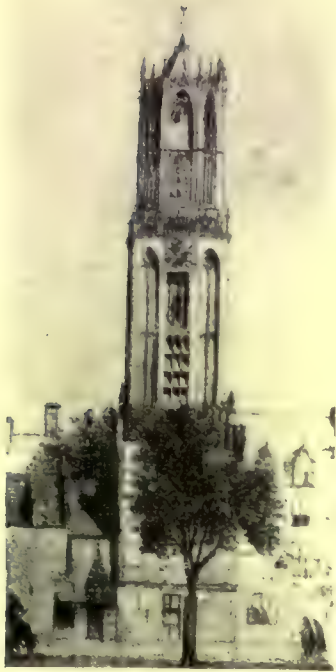
¹ Can this be by moonlight or by sunlight reflected from a white cloud?

first master who reproduced a real view as the scene of a subject was Conrad Witz of Rottweil in 1444.¹

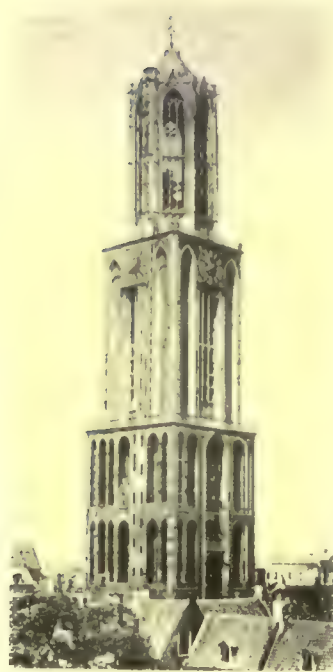
The Van Eycks had, by entirely suppressing the uniform gold backgrounds employed by fourteenth-century painters, introduced a new feature, a real ground on which their figures stand, and by means of which they are, so to say, brought together; but although the landscape in no one of their pictures is reproduced from nature as a whole, they are so cleverly composed that they convey the impression of representing the view of some particular place, and this has led many to try and identify the localities. The town in the background of the Louvre altar-piece has been declared to be Bruges, Lyons, Maastricht, and Liège; the river in this and in the Rothschild and Berlin Carthusian panels to be the Rhine, while others say it is the Maas, and Rosen and Voll go so far as to assert that the view is that seen from the citadel of Liège.

These contradictory assertions are all alike easily disproved. In the Rothschild panel the cathedral to the left of the river is unmistakably Old Saint Paul's seen from the south; in the Rolin altar-piece a noble cathedral of a decidedly French type occupies a similar position, and the tower of Saint Martin's at Utrecht stands near the bridge. Again, in addition to other discrepancies, the island above the bridge in the Rolin altar-piece is omitted in the Rothschild panel, yet De Mont declares the river and town in this to be a servile copy of those in the Louvre panel. Again, it has been affirmed that the background of the Vision of Saint Francis is a view near Assisi, to the bare hills about which it has even less resemblance

¹ See D. BURCHARDT, *Das Werk des Konrad Witz*, plate xx. Basel, 1901.



UTRECHT CATHEDRAL.
WEST TOWER, 1636



UTRECHT CATHEDRAL:
WEST TOWER, 1905



OLD SAINT PAUL'S, LONDON, FROM THE SOUTH



SNOW MOUNTAINS IN THE GHENT POLYPTYCH

From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature



SNOW MOUNTAINS IN THE ROLIN PANEL

From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature

(The note in the dexter corner refers to the size of the drawing)

than the city in the Richmond picture (28) to Jerusalem. Snow-capped mountains are represented in the distance in seven Eyckian paintings, namely, in the polyptych—panel of the Knights of Christ—in the Rothschild panel (14), the Rolin altar-piece (15), the left shutter of the Dresden triptych (18), the Calvary pictures at Saint-Petersburg (25) and Berlin (27), and the Richmond Visit of the Three Marys to the Sepulchre (28). Gilbert has high praise for these views, and says that Van Eyck evidently appreciated the beauty of mountain-form.¹ Rosen (1903, p. 104) declares the mountains in the Rolin altar-piece to be better painted than those in the polyptych, and says that those in the Berlin Calvary represent the Bernese Alps, the Stockhorn, Niesen, and, high above them, the Blümli Alp. The writer cannot identify any one, and is convinced that all the Eyckian landscapes are made up from sketches and reminiscences of foreign travel. Fancied identifications are difficult to disprove, but when the landscape in the Saint Francis is declared to have been copied, as by Rosen (p. 107), from the left shutter of Bout's Adoration of the Magi at Munich, a glance at photographs of the two paintings suffices to prove that he was writing from memory and quite mistaken.

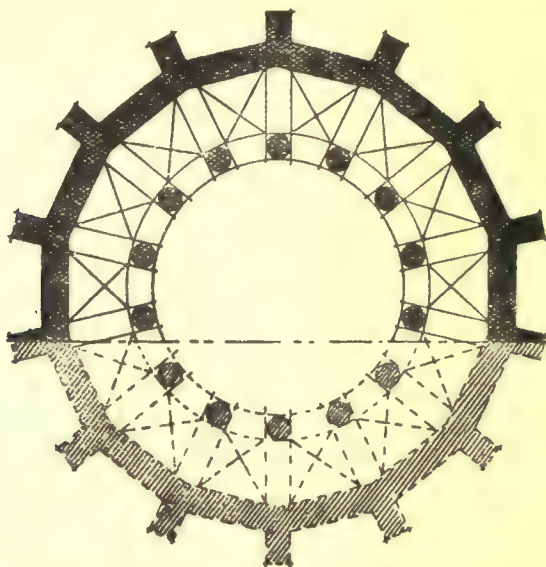
In most of the paintings with landscape backgrounds a flock of wild geese or cranes is seen high up in the air flying in V-like array.² I do not remember the occurrence of this

¹ Landscape in Art, 1885, pp. 53, 146, 150, 153 and 164.

² In the polyptych—panel representing the Hermits—the Antwerp Saint Barbara (8), the Rothschild and Louvre panels (14, 15), the Vision of Saint Francis (19), and the Three Marys (28). The geese in the Louvre panel are seen through the arcade on the left, but are not discernible in any photograph other than that by Braun.

feature in the paintings of any other master, and am inclined to agree with Mr. Marks that it was used by the Van Eycks as a sort of signature. *Eyck*, oak (*Aldeneyck*, old oak) was most probably by the French pronounced and written *Eck*,¹ angle; this may have suggested the adoption of the symbol.

Exotic plants are represented more or less faithfully in the centre and left shutter-panels of the polyptych, in the Copenhagen panel (13), in the Saint Francis (19), the Berlin



PLAN OF BUILDING IN THE BRUGES ALTAR-PIECE AFTER KERN.

Calvary (27), the Three Marys (28), and the Berlin Virgin by the fountain (29), but are not found in either the Saint Barbara (8), or the Ypres triptych (11). These exotic plants include the olive, citron, cypress, stone-pine, date-palm, and palmetto, all southern Mediterranean plants, which in the polyptych,

¹ See Documents 13, 14, 15, 16; Maaseyck is situated on a bend of the river, and the form Mazeck occurs in 36 and in other documents.

at least, are generally recognized to be splendidly painted. Rosen, however, declares the date-palm and the stone-pine to be incorrectly drawn.

(3) *Architecture*.—The architecture in the Bruges altar-piece (6) is late Romanesque; in the Saint Barbara (8), third-pointed; and in the Ypres triptych (11), late Romanesque with third-pointed vaulting. Kern is of opinion that the first of these represents a circular Romanesque church.

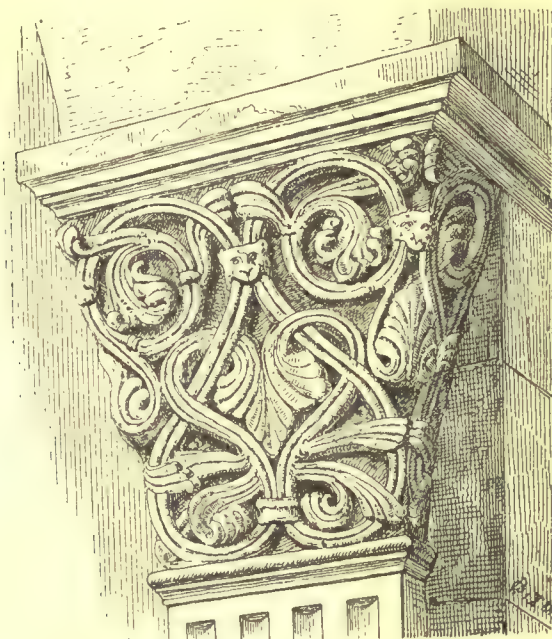
The writer knows of no such existing church. The old cathedral of Trier, built by Saint Helena, mother of the emperor Constantine, had twelve piers of two columns, but it was pulled down in the thirteenth century to make way for the new cathedral, and it does not seem probable that John van Eyck could have had any knowledge of this. He may possibly have taken the idea of the building in this altar-piece from a description of the Holy Sepulchre, or from the church of Saint Constance in *Via Nomentana* at Rome,¹ or the baptistery at Pisa,² but more probably from the baptistery at Parma.³ The Antwerp panel (8) shows an octagonal third-pointed tower, there introduced as the emblem characterising Saint Barbara. This admirable drawing can hardly

¹ See E. ISABELLE, *Les édifices circulaires et les domes*, pl. 24. Paris, 1855.

² See ISABELLE, pl. 57; and DEHIO and BEZOLD, *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abenlandes*, II, pl. 203. Stuttgart, 1888.

³ See DEHIO and BEZOLD, II, pl. 203. Kern remarks (p. 11) that the pillar in the middle axe of the apse, behind the throne of Our Lady, shows that Van Eyck did not mean to represent the choir of a church. This is not quite conclusive, as there are churches with choir apses of six bays, but he may very well have meant to represent an apsidal transept.

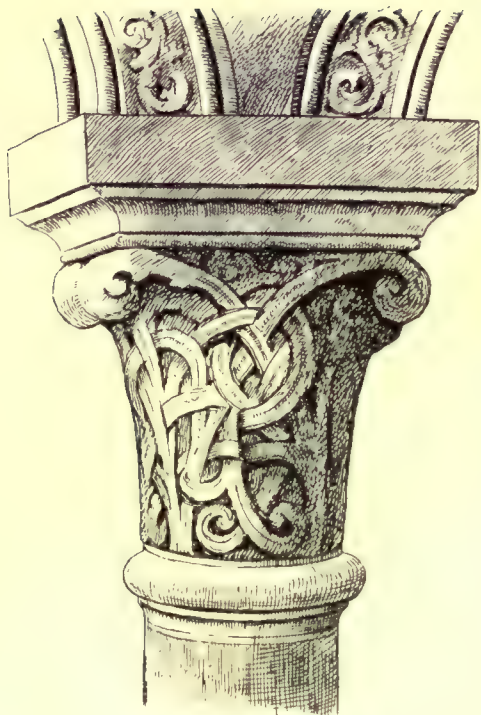
be an original design of John's, and as no such building is known, it may possibly have been copied from some master-mason's design. The columns in the Bruges altarpiece (6) and in the Ypres triptych (11) have capitals adorned with interlaced foliage and animals, whilst those of the piers in the former are storied. This system has been carried



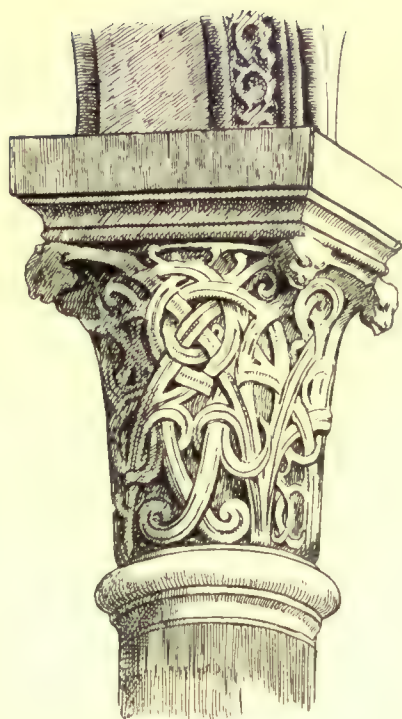
CAPITAL OF A PILASTER—SOUVIGNY (BOURBONNAIS).

out in all the other paintings here described which present architectural interiors. The capitals of the columns, which offer a considerable variety of design, are of a type found in the Bourbonnais;¹ those of the piers present a series of subjects from the Old Testament; but the Bruges and Dresden pictures (6, 18) appear to have been imitated from

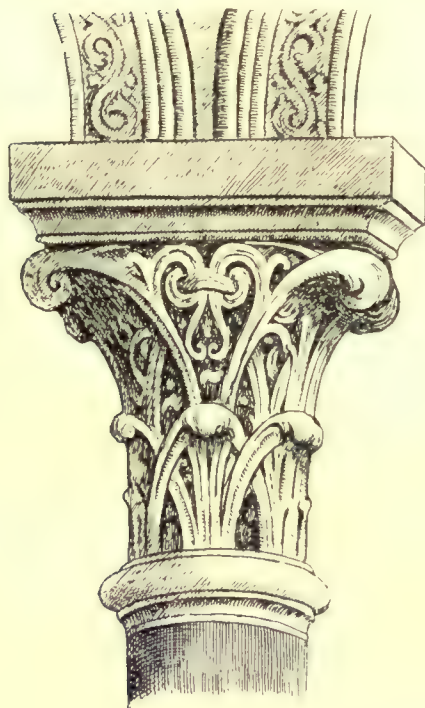
¹ See DEHIO and BEZOLD, III, plates 333, 334, 341, and 345.



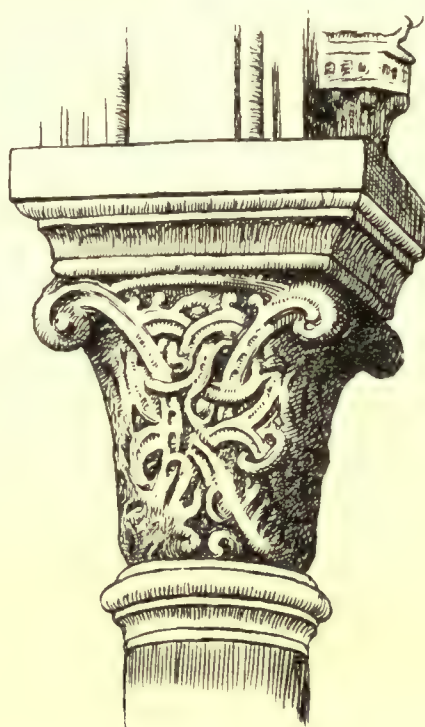
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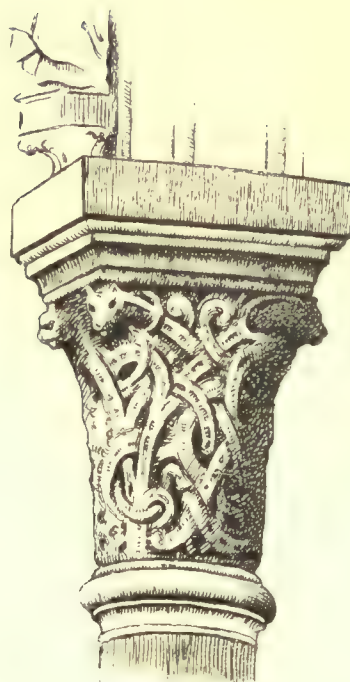
CAPITALS AFTER VAN EYCK

1.—ROTHSCHILD PANEL, PARIS. 2, 3.—ROLIN ALTAR-PIECE. 4.—TRIPTYCH, DRESDEN

From drawings by C. Marks



BELLEROPHON AND THE CHIMERA
From a Sarcophagus after Mülhagen



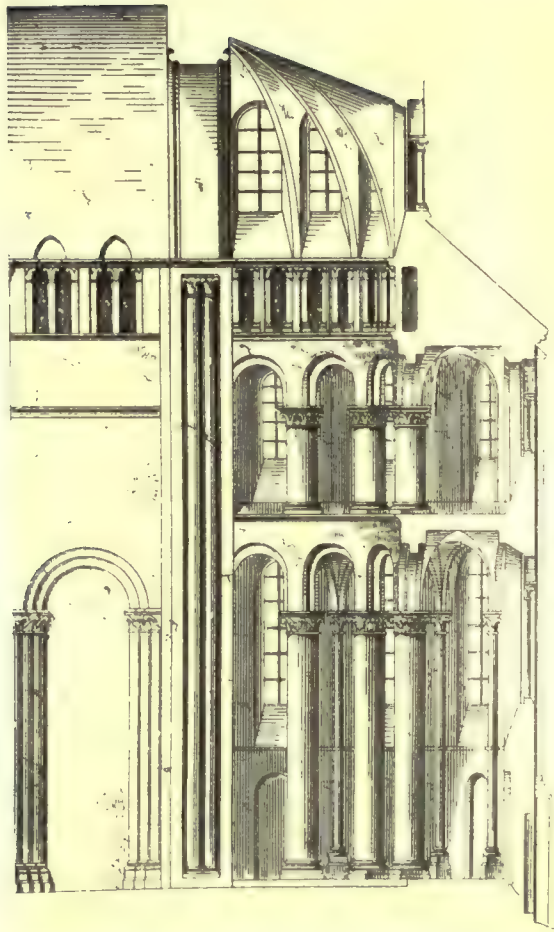
CAPITAL FROM TRIPTYCH, DRESDEN



CAPITAL FROM ALTAR-PIECE, BRUGES



CAPITAL FROM ALTAR-PIECE, BRUGES



TOURNAY CATHEDRAL, TRANSEPT

After Peck and Peck

the sculptures on classical sarcophagi—such as the victory of Alexander over the Persians, Bellerophon and the Chimæra, the Hippolytus legend, or some hunting scene.¹

Of the architecture in other paintings, that of the Berlin Virgin and Child (20) is alone real, based on a three-aisled cruciform apsidal church, having a crypt beneath the choir—the cathedral of Ghent, according to M. Hulin;² Saint Denis, according to Dr. Voll;³ in the writer's opinion it is impossible to say which, if either, suggested the design. In the Saint-Petersburg Annunciation (16) and the Dresden triptych (18) the architecture is quasi-real, the details, taken separately, being correctly given; but the very stilted arches of the chief arcade in the former have been apparently drawn from those of an apse and straightened out, while the square-headed triforium is an adaptation of that in the transept of the cathedral of Tournay.⁴ In the Dresden triptych the bases are of a much later date than the capitals of the columns which they support.

The cloisters or porticos in the Rothschild panel (14), the Rolin altar-piece (15), and the Berlin Madonna with Saint Barbara and a Carthusian (24), are not real but scenic

¹ Mr. Alfred Marks, to whom I am indebted for these references, is of opinion that the group on the Dresden capital was suggested by the famous Hippolytus sarcophagus, since 1850 in the Campo Santo at Pisa, but which, in Van Eyck's time, was built into the exterior wall of the cathedral.

² *See* Congrès de Bruges, 1902, *Compte rendu*, p. 21.

³ *Altniederländische Malerei*, p. 39.

⁴ John van Eyck was at Tournay in October, 1427. It is, however, possible that he may have taken this detail from the baptistery at Parma. *See* DEHIO and BEZOLD, II, pl. 203.

pasteboard architecture. The quaint introduction of rabbits at the angles of the base of one of the columns (in 15), giving an appearance of strength, may have been suggested by examples in the church of Saint Ambrose at Milan. Saint Barbara's emblematic tower in the Rothschild panel reproduces Italian-Gothic forms, and the image of Mars is certainly copied from an antique bronze. The throne of Our Lady in the Rolin panel is adorned with mosaic. The pavement in the earlier pictures is composed of tiles, generally blue and white, apparently Valencia tiles;¹ in the later, it consists of slabs of rich and varied marbles in geometric patterns, quite in Roman style.² In one picture—the Saint-Petersburg Annunciation—we find a splendid specimen of a storied pavement, reminding one of that at Rheims;³ surely this and the mural paintings of scenes in the life of Moses must have been sketched in some French church. The red sandstone or tufa buildings of the town in the background of the Saint-Petersburg and Berlin Calvary pictures (25, 27) and of the Three Marys (28) was no doubt intended to convey the idea of the East; the Temple of Jerusalem in the last is the most correct early representation of that building known.

¹ In the two panels of the polyptych occupied by the choir of angels, the upper zone of the Madrid panel (32), the Van der Paele altar-piece (6), the Rothschild panel (14), and the Frankfort Madonna (21).

² In the lower zone of the Madrid panel (32), the Rolin altar-piece (15), the Berlin Madonna with Saint Barbara and a Carthusian (24), and the centre panel of the Ypres triptych (11).

³ The windows of both ecclesiastical and domestic interiors are generally filled with roundels; in the Ince Hall panel (3), the Saint-Petersburg Annunciation (16), and the Berlin panels (20, 24), lozenge glazing occurs.

One peculiarity remains to be noted. In the Virgin's room on the exterior of the polyptych, and in the Madrid panel (32), the bases and capitals of the columns are identical, a peculiarity which the writer has met with in some churches in the Mosan region.

(4) *Perspective*.—Kern, in his volume on linear perspective (1904), places the ten Eyckian paintings which he has examined in the following chronological order:—

1. The Ince Hall Madonna (3); 2, the Frankfort Madonna (21); 3, the Arnolfini panel (5); 4, the Bruges altar-piece (6); 5, the Dresden triptych (18); 6, the Saint-Petersburg Annunciation (16); 7, the Berlin Madonna in a church (20); 8, the Rothschild panel (14); 9, the Rolin panel (15); 10, the Berlin Madonna with Saint Barbara and a Carthusian (24). In all the Eyckian paintings the figures in the foreground are too tall relatively to the architecture, and often occupy too great a space; as, for instance, Our Lady in the centre of the Dresden triptych. In the half-distance and the background the figures are relatively more correct; as, for instance, the two men in the garden of the Rolin panel (15), and the workmen at the foot of the tower in the Antwerp picture of Saint Barbara (8). The present writer, while fully recognising Kern's competence as a judge of perspective, is convinced that the Rolin panel is anterior to 1430, and his conviction is strengthened by the fact that another specialist on perspective, Doehlemann (1905), does not accept Kern's conclusion. Doehlemann also considers the perspective of the Arnolfini picture to be better than that of the Bruges altar-piece. It seems pretty evident that neither of the Van Eycks had a full—mathematical—knowledge of the laws of perspective, and that, consequently,

there is no room for astonishment if the perspective in a later painting is less perfect—supposing such to be the case—than in earlier works. It seems quite likely that the Van Eycks did not attach any great importance to the point, any more than to the representation of trees and plants in exact relative height.

(5) *Costume*.—The costume worn by donors of paintings is an excellent guide to the discovery of their personality and the dating of their portraits. Had Kaemmerer attended to this, he would not have aspersed the character of B. Nicholas Albergati (1); neither would he nor Hymans have described De Leeuw (7) or the Leipzig donor (35) as canons. Attention should be paid to the signification of accessories, such as a ring showing the holder to be a goldsmith, a white wand denoting the bearer to have held the office of chamberlain. As an example of the importance of such details as guides to the identification of persons portrayed, it may be well to draw attention to the case of the individual first misnamed “a duke of Burgundy”; then, and still incorrectly, “the Man with a pink,” which designation affords no clue. For these the writer has substituted the fitter title of “an Esquire of the Order of Saint Anthony”;¹ the pinks held in his hand probably indicate that he was a bachelor, a rose being the flower indicating a person already married.

The details of armour worn by knights and soldiers afford also important evidence as to the date of a painting. Armour is represented in five of the pictures described in the present work: the Polyptych; the Saint-Petersburg Last

¹ A list of the Knights and Esquires of the Order is preserved in the Royal Library at Brussels, Goethals MSS.

Judgment (26); the Dresden triptych (18); the Bruges altar-piece (6); and the Three Marys at the Sepulchre (28). The helmets and upper part of the armour worn by Saint Michael and Saint George, apparently copied from the same suit, are pseudo-classic, and much resemble the suit made for Charles V. by Bartholomew Campi, in 1546. The leg-armour of the archangel in the Saint-Petersburg picture is decidedly earlier than that of the other figures.

Portraiture.—Portrait-painting, so far as we know, was not introduced until the second half of the fourteenth century. The earliest known are profile portraits; towards the end of the century some portraits show the body in three-quarters, with the head in profile, as in those of Philip II., duke of Burgundy, 1383-1404, and John, duke of Berry, 1340-1416, authentic copies of which have been preserved,¹ and that of John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, 1404-1419, in the Louvre, n°.1002. Another portrait of the last-named, in the Antwerp Museum, shows the body and head turned in the same direction; the painter of that portrait was evidently working tentatively, as the tip of the nose cuts across the contour of the further half of the face.² The Van Eycks went a step further than their predecessors, and succeeded in representing persons seen in three-quarters, the nose foreshortened, with plastic

¹ In A. Thevet's *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres*, p. 267, Paris, 1584, there is a woodcut of Philip's portrait, which was then in the Charter-house of Dijon. A copy of that of John, duke of Berry is in the Gaignières collection in the Print-room of the National Library at Paris.

² Westendorp (1906, p. 72) thinks this may be the portrait painted by John Malouel in 1415, and sent as a present to John I., king of Portugal.

truthfulness. Frequently the addition of hands added to the characterisation of their portraits. Dvořák, as also Westendorp, give John the credit of having been the first who succeeded in producing satisfactory portraits. But the earliest portrait proved to have been painted by John is that of the Blessed Nicholas Albergati, cardinal of Saint-Cross (1431), whilst we have those of Jodoc Vyt and his wife on the shutters of the Ghent polyptych, and of Michael Giustiniani in the Dresden triptych, and a copy of a portrait of Michael of France, first wife of Philip III., duke of Burgundy (died July 8, 1422), which were most probably painted by Hubert.¹

Alleged portraits of the Van Eycks.—In the foreground of the dexter shutter-panel of the Adoration of the Lamb, one of the Just Judges is represented riding on a white horse, and not far from him a much younger man clad in black, with a large head-kerchief, and wearing a red coral rosary round his neck, has his head turned towards him, but is not looking in his direction. These two, according to

¹ The will of John De Visch, lord of Axel and Capelle, in the possession of the Count of Breda at Compiègne, mentions among other bequests that of thirty gold crowns, and a painting by Hubert to his daughter Mary, a nun in the Benedictine convent of Bourbourg, near Gravelines, which she governed as abbess from 1418 to 1438. This was communicated to me by the late Mr. Serrure in 1870, but I attached no particular importance to it until I commenced the examination of the history and works of the Van Eycks. So far as I know, Hubert van Eyck is the only painter of that time bearing this Christian name. The portrait of John of Bavaria, in the Leboucq collection at Arras, is, I believe, the only one known. Can the painting from which it was copied have been an early work by John van Eyck?



d. Giraudon fotogr.

JOHN OF BAVARIA, THE PITILESS, COUNT OF HOLLAND AND ZEELAND



HUBERT VAN EYCK?
FROM "THE JUST JUDGES"
BERLIN: ROYAL GALLERY



JOHN VAN EYCK?
FROM THE "JUST JUDGES"
BERLIN: ROYAL GALLERY

Luke De Heere,¹ are portraits of Hubert and John. Owing to his poem having been affixed to the wall of the Vyts' chapel, this statement was read by those who went to see the picture, was widely circulated, and obtained ready credence, as at that time it was a common practice for painters to introduce their own portraits into the works they executed. De Heere's statement did not repose on any old tradition, or the sacristan who showed Münzer the picture in 1495 would certainly not have omitted to relate it; moreover, at that time it was not known that the polyptych was the work of two painters. De Heere's story, repeated by Vaernewyck, Van Mander, and a host of others, has been, until recently, accepted by all writers.² The two portraits have been copied by painters and engravers. One of the earliest copies, on an oak panel (H. 0,228 ; B. 0,34) formerly in the Orleans Gallery, and later in the possession of Mr. J. Field, of Dornden, Tunbridge Wells, shows the two men as busts juxtaposed, clad much as in the polyptych, save that John has a red under-dress and no rosary. Beneath the elder is the legend, *Hubertus ab eyck obijt* 1426; and beneath the younger,

¹ Strophe 9 of the Ode he composed in 1559; see pp. lxxviii and lxxxi.

² Laban (1898) remarks that the figure assumed to be a portrait of John by himself, is looking down at the elder man, as if saying, "I am following you," while in the corresponding panel of the Holy Pilgrims, Saint Christopher seems to be calling to his older companion (see on p. 184, Key, IV, 2, 9) to follow him. I may add here that the black funeral palls were in mediæval times charged with a red cross in memory of the Redeemer's death. Our readers must judge for themselves whether the red rosary worn over the black dress was intended to convey a special meaning. The writer is of opinion that it was simply used as an effective contrast of colour.

Ioannes ab eyck. The following mendacious verses are added :—

“Wij hebben aldereerst met olie verw gheschildert
die anghenaemigh' is de werelt door verwiedert
't jaer 1410 was eerst dies const gesien.”

Catalogues of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries mention the sale of portraits said to be those of the two brothers. The highest price that the writer has noted as having been paid for a pair is twenty-two guineas, by Sir H. P., on February 7, 1801.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle (in 1857, p. 98) were, the writer believes, the first who recognised, as portraits of the brothers, two figures on the right of the Madrid Fountain of Living Water, one wearing a red mantle trimmed with grey fur, with an order (?) ¹ hanging over his shoulder, as Hubert; the other, standing behind him on the extreme right, as John. Mr. Marks, however (1903, p. 7), though agreeing as to the former, thinks the young man to the left of the elder is John. The photographic reproductions of the five figures will enable our readers to judge for themselves. Hotho (1858, II, 169) says that in the Calvary picture at Saint-Petersburg, the two brothers are represented standing at the foot of the cross—an astounding statement, as these two men are evidently mocking the dying Saviour. De Smet (1902, p. 243) suggests that Hubert is represented in the Adoration of the Lamb, on the left behind SS. Stephen and Livin. Durand (1905, pp. 23-25) considers the portrait of a man in the National Gallery, dated 1433, to be the portrait of John painted by himself.

¹ Can it be meant for the bough of an oak (*eyck*)?



HUBERT AND JOHN VAN EYCK:
FROM "THE FOUNTAIN OF LIVING WATER"
MADRID: PRADO GALLERY
From a photograph by D. Anderson



JOHN VAN EYCK:
FROM "THE FOUNTAIN OF LIVING WATER"
MADRID: PRADO GALLERY
From a photograph by D. Anderson

None of the points above considered seem to afford data for distinguishing Hubert's work from that of John. If, however, the three figures in the centre of the upper zone of the polyptych, universally recognised as Hubert's, be compared with those in the paintings proved beyond doubt to be by John, it will be seen that they are far more plastic, and this is probably due to the fact that Hubert's early years of study were passed in the same school (Maastricht ?) as Sluter. This would be more apparent to modern eyes, unaccustomed to polychromed statuary, if they were in monochrome. John's art, on the other hand, less sculpturesque and more pictorial, has a greater affinity to miniatures; and in some of his earlier pictures, such as the Rolin panel (15), he has to a certain extent injured the general effect by the multiplication of detail. If this work be compared with the Rothschild panel (14), its inferiority as a general conception must, the writer thinks, be admitted, notwithstanding the wondrous skill displayed in the rendering of minute details. Marks (1908, p. 22) thinks it is certainly the work of two painters. The figures of Our Lady and Child, devoid of spiritual character, are undoubtedly John's, as too, in all probability, is that of the Chancellor. They appear to have been the last portion painted. If, again, the Saint-Petersburg Annunciation be compared with that on the exterior of the polyptych, how inferior are the former figures in expression, and how inappropriate their surroundings ! The details, however, are wonderfully painted, and less obtrusive than in the Rolin panel. The Dresden triptych (18) is, perhaps, the most interesting of all the unauthenticated paintings. It retains its original frame, bearing neither John's name nor his motto. The Saint Michael in this

picture is a far nobler figure than the Saint George in the Bruges altar-piece (6). The head and hands of the donor are excellent, the figures on the exterior admirable. All these points seem to indicate the authorship of Hubert, to whom the work is attributed in the 1696 inventory of Jabach's paintings at Limoges. Was this triptych left, unfinished, by Hubert and completed by John? If the donor could be identified and the date fixed it would probably settle the question. The representation of Saint Katherine with an open book in her hand, in addition to the sword and broken wheel, would seem to indicate that he was an orator or philosopher. The fact that Mr. Johnson's Vision of Saint Francis (19A) was found at Lisbon seems to have led to the conclusion that it was painted by John during his sojourn in Portugal. The Turin panel appears to the writer to be an enlargement of later date. Since 1885, several critics have expressed the gravest doubt as to its Eyckian authorship. But though differing on some points, they appear to agree that the colouring, and the manner in which the foliage of the trees is painted, point to a date posterior to the Van Eycks. Brother Leo has two right feet, from which it would appear that the painter had failed to remark that, in the smaller picture, the person in question has his legs crossed and shows the sole of his left foot. Durand thinks this the result of mere distraction on the part of Van Eyck. The palmettos are poorly painted; Rosen (1903, pp. 105-109) says, from dried plants brought to Bruges by a sailor!—but they were, most probably, merely copied, as was the V-shaped flight of geese. The Madonna in a church (20), in the Berlin Gallery, is another doubtful work. The writer believes it to be a copy of a lost original by

Hubert. The deep poetic feeling shown is a sufficient proof that he designed it. The copy in the Doria collection shows more of the arcade on the left and the third bay of the rood-screen, with the Nativity in the tympanum, and sepulchral brasses and slabs in the pavement. The Frankfort Madonna (21) and the portraits of Arnolfini (22) and Baldwin de Lannoy (23) are certainly by John. Doubts have been expressed as to whether the Berlin panel of Our Lady and Child with Saint Barbara and the Carthusian (24) was painted by either of the Van Eycks. These doubts are founded on the linear perspective, and on the windows being glazed with lozenges instead of with roundels.¹ The occurrence of a statue outside the porch, as in Mr. Salting's portrait attributed to Peter Christus, and the metallic look of the hair are given as reasons for assigning this painting to him. The Saint-Petersburg Calvary and Last Judgment (25, 26) are, in the writer's opinion, the work of a contemporary of the Van Eycks brought up in the same surroundings. The figures are less dignified in type than those of Hubert, but there is much dramatic force and deep pathos in both pictures. The painter was probably a North Netherlander; the Calvary shows so many points of resemblance to the Turin miniatures that he may possibly have designed or executed some of them. The Berlin Calvary (27) and the Visit of the Three Marys to the Sepulchre (28) are thought by many to be posterior to the Van Eycks. The writer believes he was the first to suggest that these paintings, which show intense religious feeling were not painted by John but by Hubert; this opinion

¹ See pp. 65 and 192.

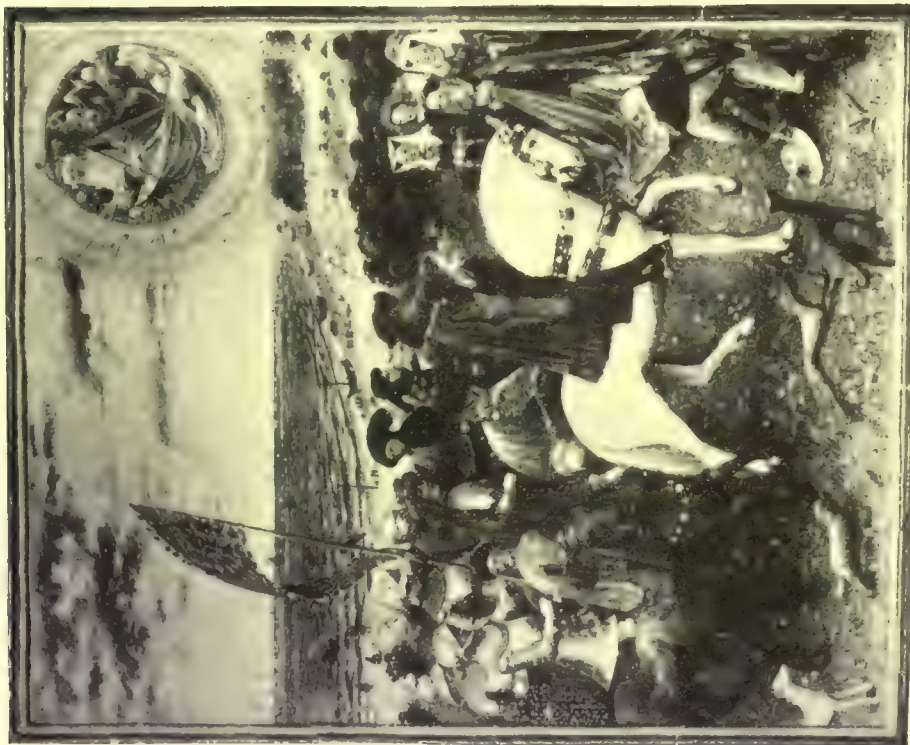
was fortified, as he pointed out in 1902, by the analogy their lighting presents to that of the miniature of Saint Julian conveying passengers across a river in a Storm, in the Turin Hours. The Eyckian authorship has been recognised by many.¹ There are, however, two details in the Richmond picture which militate against the ascription. The sleeping soldier in front of the sepulchre has at his side a helmet which has two necklames, a detail which, several of the best authorities on mediæval armour declare, proves the painting to be posterior to 1440; the handpiece by his side has also a later appearance.

The Berlin picture of Our Lady by a Fountain (29) is, in the writer's opinion, the copy of a lost picture. The southern trees are more accurately painted than in the polyptych, and are not copied from it. As to Lord Northbrook's Madonna (30), there is no sufficient reason for doubting the date 1437, said by Nieuwenhuys to have been inscribed on the original frame. The New York Madonna (31) is certainly the work of an imitator. As to the Madrid Fountain of Living Water (32) it is very difficult to say whether it is a copy of a lost original by Hubert van Eyck, or an early work by a contemporary Netherlander painted in imitation of the Ghent polyptych. It has been attributed to Louis Dalmau of Valencia,² and we have positive evidence that that painter was in 1431 sent by Alphonsus V. of Aragon to Flanders; M. Tramoyeres Blasco³ thinks he remained at Bruges until after

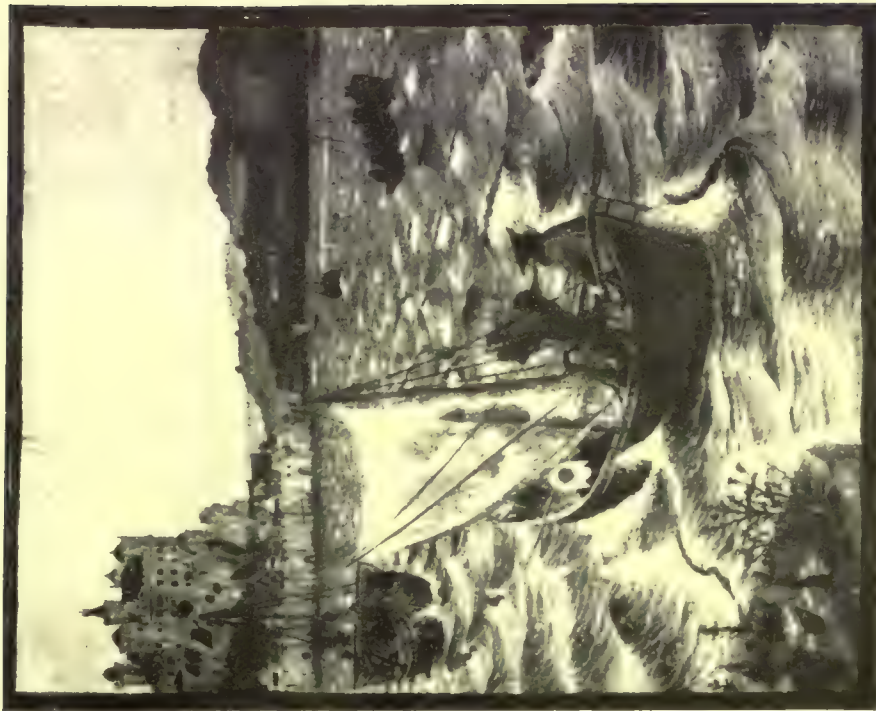
¹ See HULIN, 1902, p. 2, n° 7, and DURRIEU, 1903, p. 18.

² DVOŘÁK, 1904, pp. 246-248.

³ It is not at all clear why Alphonsus sent him to Flanders, probably to purchase paintings. A relic of the relations between the Duke



WILLIAM OF BAVARIA, MET BY HIS DAUGHTER JACQUELINE
MINIATURE IN THE "TURIN HOURS"



SAINT JULIAN CONVEYING PASSENGERS ACROSS A RIVER
MINIATURE IN THE "TURIN HOURS"

John van Eyck's death, July 9, 1441, but of this there is no proof. The panel painted by him for the magistrates of Barcelona in 1443 affords sufficient evidence that he did not acquire the Eyckian technique, though there can be no doubt that he saw and admired the singing angels on the upper dexter shutter of the Ghent polyptych. It is, on the other hand, quite clear that the painter of the Madrid panel, whether he was a Netherlander or a Castilian, must have spent some time at Ghent to attain the degree of perfection which that picture displays. The tabernacle-work which encloses and crowns the painting is evidently a wooden construction.

of Burgundy and Alphonsus V., is a Valencian majolica dish, now in the Wallace collection (n°.69), London, which was doubtless, a present from the king of Aragon to the duke. It is decorated with the personal arms of the latter at the date of his marriage with Isabella of Portugal, which arms he abandoned in 1430 (A. VAN DE PUT, *Hispano-Moresque Ware of the fifteenth century*, pl. 10, pp. 61-64, London, 1904). The date of the dish is several years anterior to the earliest known documentary evidence for the importation of such pottery at Bruges: a ducal decree of 1441, in which mention is made of "*Vaiselle de terre appelé en Flamenc Valenschen werc.*"

ADDENDA

BIBLIOGRAPHY

P.lxxiv. 1458. Kronyk van Vlaenderen.¹ On the occasion of the solemn entry of Philip III. into Ghent on Saint George's day, 23 April, 1458, after the battle of Gavere, there were great rejoicings; the house fronts were decorated with unusual magnificence, and where space permitted scenic representations were erected in the streets. The most remarkable of these was on the Poul—Marsh Square—where the Rhetoricians of the town got up a *pageant* in imitation of the Ghent polyptych. The scaffold erected for this purpose, 50 feet high and 28 feet broad, was completely covered with blue cloth and shut in with white curtains. It was divided into three zones; the uppermost portioned off into five compartments, the figures in which represented those in the five central panels of the polyptych. In the lower portion Hubert's design was not adhered to, for although the Adoration of the Lamb was represented in the centre, the sides were each divided into five compartments in two zones; four of these occupied by the Knights, the Judges, the Hermits, and the Pilgrims; the other six by groups; these and the centre illustrated the Beatitudes, the second being omitted. It is noteworthy that SS. George, Victor, Maurice, Sebastian, Quirin, and the Burgundian S. Gandolph, were substituted for

¹ This Chronicle was published by the Bibliophiles Flamands in 1840. It seems strange that the description which it gives of the pageant of 1458 should, until quite recently, have escaped the notice of those interested in the art history of Flanders, although it is mentioned in two or three works relating to mediæval theatrical representations in the middle ages. In 1906 Mr. L. Maeterlinck, having called Mr. P. Bergmans' attention to it, the latter reproduced the description in the Annals of the 20th Congress of the Archæological and Historical Federation of Belgium, 1907, pp. 530-537, with some notes relating to the festivities from the Town accounts.

those in the polyptych. This scenic representation evidently made an impression on the public, for when the polyptych was shown to Münzer thirty-seven years later, he was told that the figures in the lower zone represented the eight Beatitudes.

“Item, up den Poul stont gemaect eene groete hoghe stellagie, met drye stagien upgaende 1 voeten lanc, ende xxviij voeten breedt, al verdeckt met blauwen lakenen, voren ghesloten met witten gordinen, de misterye diere upstont was dusdanich: *Chorus beatorum in sacrificium agni pascalis*; in de middewaert van der hogster stagien was een guldin troen, daer in 't personagie van God den Vadre, sittende in eenen costelyken setele, heerlijk verchiert, met eender keyserlyker croenen up 't hooft, eenen septre in de handt, onder voer sijn voeten, eene gulden croene, onder de croene stont ghescreven, met gulden letteren, aldus: *Vita sine morte in capite, iuventus sine senectute in fronte, gaudium sine moerore a dexteris, securitas sine timore a sinistris*. Boven omme de diademe: *Hic est Deus potentissimus propter divinam maiestatem; summus omnium optimus propter dulcedinis bonitatem; remunerator liberalissimus propter inmensam largitatem*. 't Personagie van der Maget Maria zittende t' sijnre rechter hant, uutmene costelic verchiert, boven rondsomme hare diademe stont ghescreven: *Haec est speciosior sole et super omnem stellarum dispositionem lucis comparata invenitur*. Ende sent Ians Baptiste t' sijnre slinker hant, wat neerdere dan Maria, rondsomme sine diademe stont ghescreven: *Hic est Baptista Iohannes, maior homine, par angelis, legis summa evangelisatio*. Ende an de rechte zyde van Marien, wat neerdere, was eenen choer van inghelen, die maniere maecten als men dese figure toghde van singhene, voer hemlieden stont ghescreven: *Melos Deo, laus prophetis, graciaram actio*. In 't ghelyke was ter slinker zyde van sent Ianne een choer van inghelen, die maniere maecten van speelene up orghelen ende andere veele diversschen instrumenten van musiken, als men dese figure toghde; voer hemlieden stont ghescreven: *Laudate eum in chordis et organo*. Ende emmer waren de selve inghelen in biede de choren naer toghen van desen figueren, als de gordinen toegheschuift waren, altoes singhende ende speelende zeere melodieu-zelijc ende ghenouchlijc.

“Item, up de tweeste ende dardde stagie stonden ter rechter zyden, eerst vj confessoren ghecleedt als bisschoppen, in pontificale



A MAN
PARIS: LOUVRE

blauwe habysten, ende voer hemlieden stont ghescreven: *Beati pacifici*.

“Item, neffeus die, bet achterwaerts stonden vj oude vaders ghelijc patriarken ende propheten, vercleedt met peersschen ende roeden heyken lanc tot der heerden ende al met langhe barden; voer hemlieden stont ghescreven: *Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam*.

“Item, daer neffens stonden bet achterwaerts vj oude vaders met blauwen ende zwartten habysten totter heerden met mudtschen up 't hoovet; voer hemlieden stont ghescreven: *Beati misericordes*.

“Item, doe volghden daer an de selve zyde oec bet achterwaert vj Gods ridders, als sent Ierijs, sente Victor, sente Maurissius, sente Sebastiaen, sente Quirijn, sente Gandolf, wylen hertoghe van Bourgognen, elc met sinen standarde van sijnder wapenen in sijn handt; voor hemlieden stont ghescreven: *Christi milites*.

“Item, nevens die stonden vj oude vaders met groenen habysten an, elc als een rechtere; voer hemlieden stont ghescreven: *Iusti iudices*.

“Item, up de selve tweeste ende dardde stagien, stonden ter slinker zyden, ierst ieghen over de vj confessoren, vj ionghe maghden met schoenen hanghenden hare; voer hemlieden stont ghescreven: *Beati mundo corde*.

“Item, daer an achterwaert ieghen over de Patriarken stonden vj Appostelen; voer hemlieden stont ghescreven: *Beati pauperes spiritu*.

“Item, daer naer ieghen over de Oude Vaders met blauwen ende zwartten habysten stonden vj Heremiten, onder de welke stonden Maria Magdalena ende Egipciaka; voer hemlieden stont ghescreven: *Heremitae sancti*.

“Item, daer naer ieghen over de vj Gods ridders stonden vj Martelaers, als bisschoppen ende priesteren, vercleedt al met roeden pontificalen habysten; voer hemlieden stont ghescreven: *Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iusticiam*.

“Item, ieghen over de vj Oude Vaders metten groenen habysten stonden vj Peelgryms, d'een van hemlieden sijnde sente Christoffels uutnemende groet boven d'andere; voer hemlieden stont ghescreven: *Peregrini Sancti*, ende waren alle dese voorscreven personnagien zo uutnemende rykelic ende costelic verchiert gheabilliert ende ghepareert elc naer sinen heessch ende staet als dat onmoghelijc ware volcomelic te declareren oft te scrivene.

"Item, up 't selve stellagie in midden van de vorseide personnagien stont eenen schoenen outaer, dierbaerlic ende kerckelic ghedect ende gheparreert ende voren up de dwale van dien outare stont ghescreven, met guldenen letteren : *Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi*. Ende up den selven outaer stont eene figuere van eenen Lamme ghemaect naer ;dlevende uut sijnre burst loepende bloet in eenen kelict ; rontomme dien outare stonden veele inghelen, daer aff dat d'een hilt teekin van den cruce, een ander de columme, ende alle d'andere elc een teekin van den instrumenten ende teekenen der passcien ons liefs heeren Ihesu Christi.

"Item, voor elcken houc van den outare knielde een inghele, die hadden elc een wieroecvat stijf staende in manieren off sy gheworpen hadden ten vorseiden outare waert, ende voer de inghelen stont ghescreven : *Beati mites*.

"Item, up de figure van den vorseiden Lamme, ende up elc van den vorseiden anderen staten, waren gemaect, comende ende sprutende uut der personnagie van God den Vader, rayen in midden den welken scheen vlieghende eene schoene witte duve, in manieren van den Heylighen Gheest, de selve duve houdende een rolle daer in dat ghescreven stont : *Repleti sunt omnes Spiritu sancto*.

"Item, recht vore de stellagie stont ghemaect eene schoene fonteyne verchiert ghelijc witten ende groenen marbre, de pilaer xxv voeten hooghe boven de stellagien staende up eenen steenen voet, drye stieghers hoghe upgaende ; daer aff den appersten was dbat van der fonteynen, ende boven up den appel daer uut dat drye gorgelen liepen met wine, als mijn vorseide gheduchten heere daer leedt, stont een inghele houdende eene rolle daer in dat ghescreven stont : *Fons vitae* ; ende omme den vorseiden appele stont ghescreven : *Fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis, ad irrigandum Paradisum*. Genes. 2^o Ende an den bac van der fonteynen vorseit stont ghescreven ter eender zyden : *Pocula quaerenti fons noster dabit amaena*, ende ten ander zyde stont ghescreven : *Hic est fons aquae vitae procedens de sede Dei et agni*."

P. lxxv. 1524, March 20. SUMMONTE, Pietro, in a letter bearing this date, written at Naples and addressed to Mark Anthony Michiel,



PORTRAIT OF A MAN
PHILADELPHIA: MR. J. G. JOHNSON

mentions three paintings on canvas by master Roger (De la Pasture), and says that he was accustomed to paint large figures, but that master John (van Eyck) at first illuminated books and painted miniatures.

"Et quoniam aliquantum defleximus a parlar di cose di Fiandra non lascerò far menzione delli tre panni di tela lavorati in quel paese per lo famoso Maestro Rugerio, genero di quell' altro gran Maestro Ioannes, che prima fe l'arte d'illuminare libri, sive ut hodie loquimur miniare. Ma lo Rugiero non si esercitò sennon in figure grandi."¹

P. cxii. L. TRAMOYERES BLASCO. El Pintor Luis Dalmau. In *Cultura Española*, II, 565-569. Madrid, 1907.

P. II. A communication received, through Mr. A. Van de Put, from M. Luis Tramoyeres Blasco, director of the Museum of Paintings at Valencia, shows that the date of the embassy to Alphonsus V. is incorrectly given in the text. When John van Eyck and the ambassadors arrived at Tournay, they were not starting on their mission but returning from it. They arrived, it appears, late in July at Barcelona, from which city the king had, fleeing from the earthquakes in Catalonia, departed by sea some days previously. They reached Valencia early in August, for on the 9th and 10th of that month the Jurats of the city offered the king two days of Floral games at which many notabilities were present. A bull-fight was also held. A document in the Accounts of the Royal Treasury of Valencia, dated October 15, 1427, mentions a payment of 45 gold florins to John Sabent, the owner of a small vessel which had been sent to Iviza, in the track of the ship by which Philip's ambassadors had started from Barcelona some days previously on their return to Burgundy. Sabent was the bearer of an order to the Ivizan authorities to prevent a ship belonging to one P. de Ledesma from boarding that of the ambassadors, or doing them any injury.

P. 52, l. 8. A painting at Madrid, in the Prado Gallery (nº. 1351. Oak. H. 1,22; B. 1,33), there attributed to Hubert van Eyck, reproduces the busts of the three principal figures of the Ghent polyptych.

¹ First published by C. V. Fabriczy in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXX, 148. 1907.

It is a fine work of the end of the fifteenth century, probably painted by John Gossart.

P. 173. In the fine collection formed by Mr. J. G. Johnson, of Philadelphia, there is a portrait of a man said to be by John van Eyck. The writer has not seen it, but reproduces the photograph most kindly sent by the owner.

P. 182. A silver-point drawing (H. 0,12 ; B. 0,09) in the Louvre, the portrait of a man turned to the right, wearing a head-kerchief, the long lappet of which hangs down over his right shoulder, has been much retouched, but may possibly be a copy of a work by John van Eyck.

The so-called Consecration of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, at Chatsworth, has, at its foot, the inscription: *Iohannes de eyck fecit MCCCC^o21 30 Octobris*. This has been proved by Mr. Alfred Marks to be a forgery, an imitation of the signature of the portrait of a man (4) in the National Gallery. Both were in the possession of Thomas, earl of Arundel, as was also the head of an ecclesiastic (36). The earl had evidently a mania for passing off works of art in his possession as representations of English subjects.¹ The profile bust of Christ in the act of blessing, in the Berlin Royal Gallery, appears to the writer to date from the end of the fifteenth century.

¹ It probably represents the enthronement of Robert Sherborn, bishop of Chichester in 1508, and may be by Dirk Barentsz, *alias* Theodore Bernardi, who came to England early in the sixteenth century, where he was settled in 1519, and seems to have remained working for churches and monasteries in Sussex and Hampshire. Bishop Sherborn employed him on many works, some of which remain in the cathedral and palace at Chichester, and at Amberley castle. See the *Burlington Magazine*, x, 383, and xi, 45.



CHRIST IN THE ACT OF BLESSING

BERLIN: ROYAL GALLERY

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VINCENZO FOPPA OF BRESCIA, FOUNDER OF THE LOMBARD SCHOOL HIS LIFE AND WORK

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In Milanese territory—the sphere of Foppa's activity during many years—he was regarded by his contemporaries as unrivalled in his art, and his right to be considered the head and founder of the Lombard school is undoubted. His influence was powerful and far-reaching, extending eastwards beyond the limits of Brescian territory, and south and westwards to Liguria and Piedmont. In the Milanese district it was practically dominant for over a quarter of a century, until the coming of Leonardo da Vinci thrust Foppa and his followers into the shade, and induced him to abandon Pavia, which had been his home for more than thirty years, and to return to Brescia.

The object of the authors of this book has been to present a true picture of the master's life based upon the testimony of records in Italian archives ; all facts hitherto known relating to him have been brought together ; all statements have been verified ; and a great deal of new and unpublished material has been added

It is hoped therefore that the book may be of service, and may become the basis of all future historical studies of this master. By reproducing all his known works—those which are indisputably his as well as those which bear his name, though the attribution may sometimes be open to doubt—the master is made to speak for himself, and his life work is brought within the reach of all students. Records discovered in the archives at Brescia, by Miss Ffoulkes, furnish proof that Vincenzo Foppa lived twenty-three years longer than was formerly supposed. This fact has now been confirmed beyond all possibility of doubt by documents which have recently come to light in the Archivio Notarile at Pavia, where a great number of records of the highest interest relating to Foppa, which will be published for the first time in this book, have been discovered by Monsignor Majocchi, Rector of the Collegio Borromeo. The collaboration of this distinguished scholar with Miss Ffoulkes is a sufficient guarantee of the value of this book to students. Professor Majocchi's intimate acquaintance with the Pavian archives and his profound and accurate knowledge of all that pertains to the history and art of Pavia are unrivalled. For many years he was Director of the Gallery in that city, a post which he only relinquished for the more important appointment which he now holds.

The illustrations will include several pictures by Foppa hitherto unknown in the history of art, and others which have never before been published, as well as reproductions of every existing work by the master at present known. All the documents referred to throughout the book will be given in chronological order at the end of the volume, with an index containing the summary of each document in English.

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